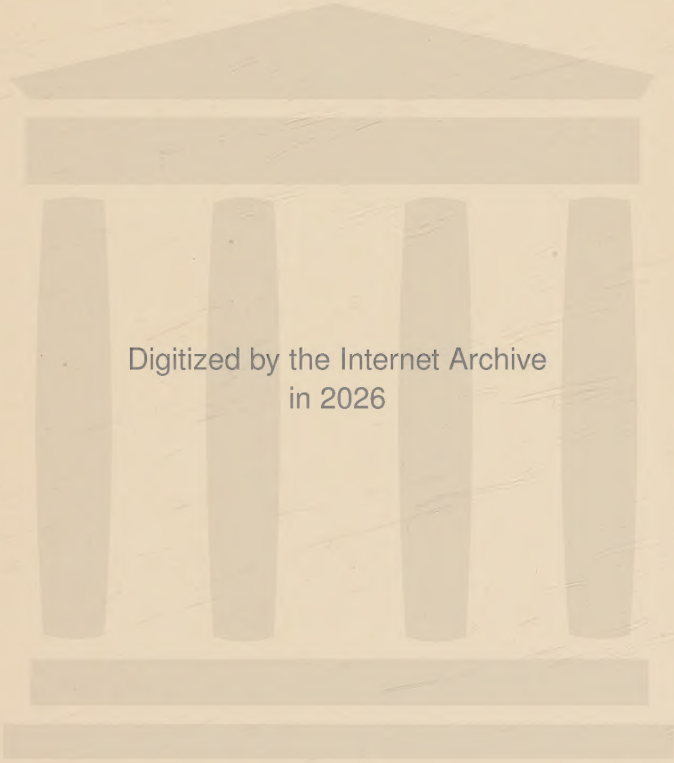
GREEK IMMIGRATION TO THE UNITED STATES


Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2026

https://archive.org/details/greekimmigration0000henr_b1n3

A FUTURE AMERICAN

GREEK IMMIGRATION
TO
THE UNITED STATES

BY

HENRY PRATT FAIRCHILD

WITHDRAWN

NEW HAVEN: YALE UNIVERSITY PRESS
LONDON: HENRY FROWDE
OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS
MCMXI

~~325.95~~
~~F75~~

JV
6824
F3

COPYRIGHT, 1911,
BY
YALE UNIVERSITY PRESS

First printed February, 1911, 1000 copies

12278

TO MY WIFE

PREFACE

THIS work was prepared as a part of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, in connection with the Department of Anthropology in Yale University. The effort was made to secure for it the merit which attaches to a scientific production, and in so far as this effort has been successful it is in large measure due to the scholarly atmosphere in which the work was done. It was also carried on under the auspices of the Carnegie Institution of Washington. To it I am deeply indebted for financial assistance, without which the work must have been much more limited in scope.

Inasmuch as the book is based almost wholly on personal investigation, I am aware that it is open to the inaccuracies which beset that kind of a study. I have selected my sources of information with the greatest care, and have taken pains to avoid making any positive statements unless I was myself convinced of the truth of them; yet there are undoubtedly errors due to faulty judgment. My hope is that on the whole my opinions and conclusions are not too widely at variance with those which a complete knowledge of all the facts would justify. The same causes have necessitated the frequent use of the first personal pronoun, which is undesirable but unavoidable.

In some cases I have felt compelled to suppress the exact identity of my informants, as their position and the nature of the information furnished by them have been such as to lead them to request expressly that their names should not be mentioned.

The meagerness of the bibliography is due to the fact that practically nothing has been written directly on the subject, outside of a few magazine articles, and it can serve for little else than incidental reference.

In an undertaking of this kind, I have put myself under obligation to a very large number of people. Men and women from every station of life, both Americans and Greeks, on both sides of the Atlantic, have put their time and their information freely at my disposal. To try to acknowledge even a few of these debts individually is out of the question. Let me briefly, but sincerely, express my deep gratitude to every one of the many by whose kind consideration the prosecution of the work was made possible.

I cannot forbear, however, to mention the names of a small number whose connection with the work has been such as to render my obligation to them quite distinct. Foremost among these is Professor Albert G. Keller, under whose personal guidance the work was carried on. In ways too numerous to mention, he has shown his interest in the undertaking, and his advice and inspiration have been invaluable. To Professor Walter F. Willcox, of the Carnegie Institution, I also feel a personal obligation for kindly interest, advice and encouragement. Three friends in Greece to whom I feel sincerely grateful for valuable assistance, and many kindnesses, are Consul-General George W. Horton in Athens (now of Saloniki), and Consul Edward Nathan (now of Mersine), and Vice-Consul H. J. Woodley in Patras.

New Haven, January, 1911.

CONTENTS

Part I.

The Conditions, Causes and Sources of Emigration.

Chapter	I.	The Physical Environment	3
Chapter	II.	National Character	12
Chapter	III.	Religion and Language	42
Chapter	IV.	The Direct Causes of Emigration	58
Chapter	V.	The Sources and Means of Emigration	83

Part II.

The Greeks in the United States.

Chapter	VI.	Statistical Review	109
Chapter	VII.	Greek Colonies in the United States	119
Chapter	VIII.	Economic Conditions	165
Chapter	IX.	Social Conditions	191

Part III.

Effects of Immigration.

Chapter	X.	Effects on the Immigrants	215
Chapter	XI.	Effects on Greece	220
Chapter	XII.	Effects on the United States	236

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

A Future American . . . . . Frontispiece.
Corfu . . . . . Opposite page 6
Typical Dwellings 36
Monk and Acolyte 48
Peasant Plowing with Wooden Plow 61
Plant of the Société Hellénique de Vins et Spiritueux, Eleusis 67
Harbor of Patras by Night 81
Tsipiana 90
A Scene on Board Ship 102
Immigrants on Board 113
Greek Orthodox Church, Lowell 141
Bootblack Shop and Two of the Boys, New Haven . . 179
Immigrants Embarking for the United States at Patras 210
Women Washing at the Fountain, Tsipiana 218
Public Square, Tripolis 229
Peasant Types, Megalopolis 243

INTRODUCTION

FIVE centuries ago there lay before the European races a third of the entire land surface of the world, newly opened. But few obstacles, and those easily superable, opposed the occupation of the temperate portions of this new earth. Thus the whole equation between men and land underwent a momentous alteration, and one which can scarcely be repeated on this planet. The conjuncture, as Professor Sumner was wont to say, now came to be in favor of men. Under the freer conditions of life there resulted, of necessity, a thorough modification of the mode of society—of human customs, institutions, and philosophies. Before the race, now exempt from checks inherent in narrower and more exacting environmental conditions, and loosed from the social system developed under necessity of adaptation to them, there lay the possibility of an indefinite growth and expansion. In a very real sense humanity had a new chance; the most advanced and adaptable of human races could pick and choose from out of its past, and, so far as it was conscious of its situation, it could strive to make of its future something more rational, something at least partially disentangled from world-old drags upon progress.

Of the double continent then thrown open, the most considerable portion, suitable for permanent occupation, was the zone now included within the boundaries of our own country. Here it was that the men were wanted; there could not be too many of them. Quality was somewhat looked to, it is true, but quantity was the great desidera-

tum. As time went on, and the nation grew and yet managed to keep its unity and to reduce the incoming aliens to its type, there arose a deep-seated conviction as to the incomparable and inexhaustible assimilating power of the nation. The crude ores dumped into the crucible might be what they might—the fusion would be thorough, the mold compellingly formative, the result sound and dependable.

But there are signs in the present days that this conviction is being shaken. As the country is filling up and as conditions are coming not so distantly to resemble those of older lands, the tendency is to think less of quantity and more of quality than heretofore. The strain to which the national power of assimilation is being subjected causes many to harbor concern as to the outcome. Some would limit immigration irrespective even of its quality; few wish to see it as unrestricted as it used to be; and any citizen of sense realizes that we must know the facts about it. Any student of human society can see that as the population grows and presses ever more insistently upon the land, the issues surrounding the contact of races are bound to be vital and perhaps determinative of the destiny of the nation.

The reader of this book will learn much about one of the new and characteristic groups of our fellow citizens. Their number is small, it is true, but the impression they yield is the more clear and definite. It is often impossible to analyze the large and complex cases with much success, until one has learned to know and to estimate the value of factors which remain somewhat isolated in the more restricted fields of observation. Further, it is peculiarly needful in investigation of immigration that the observer

shall not be hampered in any avoidable way in getting at the circumstances and motives of the immigrant; he should know the language, and the disposition, customs, and habitudes of the people he wishes to study; and he should be able through sympathy to gain insight. As respects these considerations the following study has been carried out under the most favorable of auspices.

A. G. Keller.

New Haven, January 21, 1911.

GREEK IMMIGRATION TO THE UNITED STATES

PART I

THE CONDITIONS, CAUSES AND SOURCES OF EMIGRATION

GREEK IMMIGRATION TO THE UNITED STATES

CHAPTER I

The Physical Environment

FOR the study of any group of people the fundamental basis is a survey of the nature of the country in which they are placed. The influence of physical environment on the history and character of the races of men is a matter which is just beginning to be adequately comprehended. The general idea is not new. It has long been vaguely understood that an elevated habitat tends to breed a hardy and independent race, that extreme heat and luxuriance of natural production are conducive to enervation and indolence, that the temperate zone is best fitted to develop a progressive people. But the influence of man's natural surroundings is much more definite, fundamental and far-reaching than this. Trade routes, political organizations and affiliations, the development of industry and agriculture, even national character and religion are intimately dependent on the physical surroundings in which a race is placed. In no phase of human activity is this more true than in the matter of the movement of peoples—in short, migration. Whether people shall move or not, where they shall go, what shall be their relation with the country of departure, are matters which depend

very largely on the topography of the region in which they find themselves placed.

Accordingly, in undertaking a study of modern Greek emigration it is essential first of all to get a concise yet comprehensive view of the natural character of the region in which this remarkable race has developed. When the word "Greece" is heard, it is natural first of all to think of the small and broken peninsula, stretching down from eastern Europe into the Mediterranean, which bears that name. This is indeed Greece proper, the cradle of the Hellenic race, the center of the ancient life and culture which have commanded the admiration of all civilized peoples for so many centuries. Yet a second consideration will reveal, perhaps to a surprising degree, how large and important a part of the truest Greek life was developed outside the bounds of the peninsula. Many of the most typical representatives of the ancient Greek race, such as Herodotus, Archimedes and Aristotle, were born and lived outside of the limits of this district. What is perhaps the finest type of classical architecture, the Ionic, took its name from the coast of Asia Minor. Ancient Greece, broadly but truly speaking, included not only the peninsula but the Ionian Islands, the Archipelago, Crete, Cyprus, the coast of Asia Minor, the shores of the Bosphorus and the Black Sea, and even the borders of Italy and northern Africa. And so at the present time, if we wish to understand the modern Greek people, or, as in the present instance, to get at the sources of Greek emigration, we must bear in mind more than the European mainland, more even than the territory included in the Greek kingdom. A large proportion of the modern race, representing a very important part of Greek life, is situated in

other Mediterranean countries, especially in lands ruled over by the Turkish Sultan. Smyrna contains about the same number of Greeks as Athens, and Constantinople many more, probably more than Athens and the Piræus together. But today, as of old, the peninsula is the heart of Greek life and the center of the phenomena of emigration in which we are particularly interested. Let us glance hurriedly at the main features of this district, the general nature of which is so familiar that the briefest review will suffice to fix them in our minds.

Greece proper is a very mountainous and deeply indented peninsula, almost severed by the Gulf of Corinth and the Gulf of Ægina, the two parts being joined by the narrow Isthmus of Corinth. In spite of the precipitous nature of much of the coast there are a number of excellent harbors. The most striking feature of the topography, next to the broken coast line, is the way in which the mountains break it up into a number of small and more or less isolated districts. The most important of these are the following. Beginning with the Macedonian border, there is the large plain of Thessaly, bounded by Mount Pindos and Mount Othrys. To the west is the large and very mountainous district of Epiros, with the small regions of Acharnania and Ætolia to the south. Moving toward the Isthmus, there is Bœotia and Attica, separated from each other by Mounts Cithæron and Parnes. Crossing into the Peloponnesus, there is the broken region of Achaia on the north, with the plain of Elis to the southwest and Argolis to the southeast. The central district is Arcadia, and the southern end of the peninsula is made up of Laconia and Messenia, separated by the towering Taygetos range. These are only the main divisions. There

are scores of smaller ones, all more or less separated from each other. The rest of the modern Greek world is made up for the most part of a large number of islands, and the coastal regions of Egypt, and European and Asiatic Turkey.

Generally speaking, then, the home of the Greek race consists of a host of small habitation-districts, separated from each other by more or less impassable barriers of sea or land. Some of these are coastal regions along the eastern waters of the Mediterranean; some are islands; some are fertile districts on the European mainland, separated from each other by great chains of precipitous mountains. This is particularly true in the Peloponnesus. This half of the peninsula is composed of a series of tiny, fertile valleys or plains, marked off from each other by enormous walls of barren and rocky mountains, almost or wholly impassable, except for a few narrow passes, in themselves sufficiently difficult. Perhaps nothing impresses the traveler through the Morea more than the roughness of the country and the difficulty of access from one region to another. The lines of railroad are one long succession of windings and twistings, of ascents and descents, with only occasional stretches of comparatively level track as one or another of the plains is reached. From Tripolis to Bilali (the branch station for Megalopolis) is 41.2 kilometers, or 25.6 miles, mostly down grade. The schedule time for passenger trains is one hour and fifty minutes. The little districts lying between these mighty barriers are often very alluring and of great fertility, but the great areas of the kingdom which are comprised in the barriers themselves are barren and inhospitable in the extreme.

The effects of this peculiar environment on the Greek

CORFU (VERY FEW HAVE COME TO AMERICA FROM THIS BEAUTIFUL ISLAND)

race, which are of especial importance in the present investigation, are in the main twofold---the effect on the occupations of the people, and the effect on the national character. First, as regards occupations. Greece is of necessity primarily an agricultural country. There are a few mineral resources (see page 67), but they have never attained any great importance. Mining and manufactures have never enjoyed a large development. The difficulties of communication, above noted, have had the effect of limiting the market, and this, as Adam Smith pointed out,* is one of the greatest hindrances to division of labor and hence to the development of industry.

On the other hand, however, in the sheltered valleys and on the fertile uplands agricultural pursuits find a suitable field, and the vine, the olive tree, and the wheat plant have always flourished, furnishing an easy subsistence for a not too dense population. On the mountain slopes flocks of sheep and goats browse, furnishing materials for clothing as well as the comparative luxuries of milk, butter and cheese, and occasionally meat. It is comparatively easy to secure the bare necessities of life in Greece. But a strictly agricultural country is always threatened with over-population. By the law of Malthus, unless there is a steady improvement in the arts of living the population will always be pressing on the limits of subsistence. And in Greece, in the absence of industry, there has not been a sufficient improvement in the arts of agriculture to provide for the natural increase of the population. By the natural configuration of the country each small habitation-district is closely confined within itself. Any gradual extension of the territorial limits by a process of

* Wealth of Nations, Book I., Chapter 3.

slow individual migration by short stages is absolutely prohibited. But the Greeks are a prolific race and there has consequently always been a surplus population, which has been forced to find an outlet for its activities in some new region apart from its native soil. On account of the very broken coast line of the peninsula, a great proportion of the habitation-districts of the mainland, as well as of the islands, border on the sea. The result is that this surplus population has very largely taken to navigation and commercial pursuits, so that from time immemorial the Greeks have been a maritime people, the traders and carriers of the Levant.

But many of the habitation-districts are in the interior and do not touch the sea, and from these too the surplus inhabitants have been forced to wander from their home fields, and either follow their low-country brothers out on the wide seas, or find a home on the shores of some distant land. Consequently in ancient times we find colonies setting out from Greece for widely scattered regions, and likewise more recently, individually and in groups, Greeks have established themselves in sections of the Mediterranean lands, and in many more distant parts of the world's surface.

But though coming from agricultural regions and pursuits, the Greek does not usually follow that line of occupation in his adopted home. Especially in the Levant, the Greek is much superior in energy and business ability to the native peoples among whom he finds himself placed, and he has consequently found it to his advantage to devote himself to commercial rather than agricultural activities, with the result that he succeeds in building up a much greater fortune in his new home than he could ever have

hoped to acquire in the fatherland. Today, the most prosperous business men of Alexandria, Cairo, Smyrna and Constantinople are largely Greeks, and even as far as Persia they are found in control of all important business. More isolated cases of successful Greek merchants are to be found in cities almost all over the world. Stated succinctly, Greece has always been a splendid place to go away from to make a fortune, and the very topographical peculiarities which have forced the Greeks to wander, have produced a race admirably fitted to secure the desired end in new fields. Emigration from Greece is no new thing. But in times past the Greek emigrant always looked forward to eventual return, if possible, to his home land, where he might settle down in peace and quietude and spend the declining years of his life in the restful enjoyment of his acquired wealth. The ancient Greek colony was an ἀποικία and the colonist was an ἄποικος—one who was away from home.* The tie with the mother city was a very close one and the highest aim of the ancient colony was to glorify and enrich the community from which it came. If in many cases the offspring outgrew and sometimes rebelled against the parent, it was a later and somewhat exceptional development. The attitude of the Greek emigrant toward his home land has remained very similar up to very recent times. How much of change the last few years have witnessed will appear later.

The second effect of the physical environment which is of special importance in the present discussion is the effect on the national character of the Greeks. It would be overstraining a good point to claim that all the intricacies of the Hellenic character are due to the natural

* Keller, Colonization, p. 42.

surrounding. There are doubtless many other influences in the racial composition of the Greeks themselves and in their contact with other races which have tended to mold their character. Yet it cannot be doubted that the topography of the country has had a profound influence in shaping the moral and intellectual features of the people. The same barriers which prevented or impeded commercial and industrial development, also forbade social communication and interrelation between the different groups of the population. Those rugged mountain chains and stretches of stormy sea made impossible any free and continuous play of social forces and interchange of social ideals. Just as there could be no gradual and imperceptible mingling of the blood of the various groups, so there could be no common participation in friendly intercourse. Consequently, instead of an amalgamated Greek race spread over the various parts of the kingdom, there was a congeries of small kin-groups, having each its independent existence, meeting oftener for war than for other more peaceful intercourse. This of necessity fostered differences, jealousies, and misunderstandings. What other forces tending in the same direction there may have been in the misty ancestry of the race, it is impossible to say. But however caused, today, as well as in ancient times, one of the most pronounced features of the Greek character is a factiousness, a sectionalism, a clannishness, an inability to take the point of view of one's neighbor, which has extended beyond the tribal limits to the domain of personal relations and individual character, making it very difficult for Greeks to unite in any common enterprise.

The traveler whose boyhood study of ancient Greek

history has impressed him with the importance of the frequent wars between Lacedemonians, Spartans, Arcadians, et al., is astonished to learn by personal visitation how limited is the actual territory of the several diminutive "kingdoms" with the names of which he is so familiar. When one reflects that the whole lot of them are included in a territory of about the same area as the state of West Virginia, he realizes that no one of them can be very large.

The tribal wars are a thing of the past; roads, railroads, and steamboats are beginning to make communication between different parts of the kingdom much easier, but the old factionalism remains a prominent feature of the Greek character, and has an intimate bearing on the subject of the present investigation. The foregoing facts, not at all unfamiliar as they are, and thus so briefly stated, are yet of fundamental importance to a thorough understanding of Greek emigration, and serve as a basis for the present study. Various illustrations and applications will develop from time to time.

CHAPTER II

National Character

IN trying to form an estimate of modern Greek life and character from the writings of recent travelers one is very quickly impressed with the discouraging lack of unanimity in the opinions expressed by different observers of apparently equal trustworthiness. It would be hard to find a subject on which such absolutely contradictory opinions are expressed with a greater degree of positiveness than that of the modern Greeks. Following are a few typical sentences:

"When it is of importance to know the exact truth the Greek can be trusted quite as much as the average American." The Greek priest is "poor always, superstitious usually, ignorant often, he is without exception sincere."*

"Taken as a whole the Greeks are a moral and orderly people."†

"Cowards, bearers of false witness and liars are common national types." "The Greek race is unworthy of the sympathy of honest and brave men."‡

"There may be great piety in Greek homes but the visitor sees none of it."§

"From all that I have been able to learn, I cannot have the least hesitation in asserting that family life, the corner stone of social morality, has maintained itself in a much

* The Modern Greek, W. A. Elliott, *Chautauquan,* 43: 144.

† Life and Travel in Modern Greece, T. D. Seymour, *Scribner's,* 4: 46.

‡ Greece and Its People, *Saturday Review,* 84: 456.

§ Monasteries and Religion in Greece, J. P. Mahaffy, *Chautauquan,* 9: 1.

purer state in Greece than in the other countries of southern Europe."*

Lord Byron himself said, "The Greeks are perhaps the most depraved and degraded people under the sun, uniting to their original vices both those of their oppressors and those inherent in slaves."†

"No motive appeals more strongly to the modern Greek than the desire to be worthy of those he believes to be his ancestors. . . . . All the traditions of a glorious past are moulded into the fabric of his little state. . . . . The new life and its language, as well as the new state, is a reembodiment of the old."‡

"Now to the modern Greek himself this feeling (of sentimentally linking the new Greece with the old) is utterly unnatural, and indeed hardly intelligible. . . . . The Hellenic past beyond that (the historical Greek church) is infinitely more remote and unreal to him than it is to ourselves. . . . . The whole play is largely a farce in his eyes. The enthusiastic Philhellene is a benevolent madman to him, but a madman whom it is worth while to humor."§

As the former of these last two quotations was written in 1897 and the latter in 1885 we perhaps ought to make allowance for a slight change in the attitude of the Greek on this matter, due to twelve years of tutelage under the benevolently mad Philhellene.

---

* Character, Condition and Prospects of the Greek People, *Western Review,* 62:345.

† Quoted in The Spoilt Child of Europe, R. W. Hanbury, *Nineteenth Century,* 6:928.

‡ The Modern Greek as a Fighting Man, Benj. Ide Wheeler, *North American Review,* 164:609.

§ Ancient and Modern Greek, W. C. Lawton, *Atlantic,* 56:399.

This variety of opinions is undoubtedly due in part to this same ardent Philhellenism which inspires so many travelers to classic lands. In the mind of the typical pilgrim, especially of a generation or two ago, anything Greek was shrouded in a romantic mist of glory. The words, actions and avocations of the modern peasant were regarded through the rainbow glasses of a glorious tradition, and the effusions of the ever present guide ranked for historical accuracy with the writings of Herodotus. Set side by side with a description written from this point of view, an unbiased statement of the cold, bare facts must of necessity seem sadly inharmonious.

But there is a more fundamental reason than this for the discrepancy. The very diversity of life and interest which has been noted above, has produced a diversity of character. As are the Greeks of one region, so are they not of another. It is almost impossible to make any general statements in regard to the Greek character against which a host of exceptions will not rise in protest. And this is true, not only of the race as a whole, but of individuals. One finds the strangest mixture of contradictory qualities manifesting themselves under different circumstances in the same person. At one moment one feels his heart swelling with admiration for the modern Greek as one of the finest types in the world. The next, seeing him from a different angle, he feels that he is absolutely despicable. Accordingly, in the ensuing consideration of modern Greek character, it must be borne in mind that the effort is made to picture the people as a whole. Anyone familiar with a number of Greeks will be able to find individuals whose lives and character will gainsay almost every statement that shall be made.

This diversity of character has undoubtedly been augmented by the checkered career of the Greek race in the last twenty centuries and the various admixtures of foreign blood to which the racial stock has been submitted. This brings us to a matter about which there has been endless discussion of a more or less passionate nature—the question of the physical descent of the modern from the ancient Greeks. To a clear understanding of this subject a brief survey of the history of the race from the time of the Roman conquest is essential.

A hundred years before the beginning of the Christian era, under Roman domination, the population of Greece, already largely composed of slaves, was undergoing a further degradation. Alien invaders came in and the old stock was dispersed. This process continued until about the middle of the third century A. D., when the invasions of the Goths marked the beginning of a long series of inundations from the north. The Goths were followed by the Vandals, the Avars, and the Slavs, and finally by the great flood of Albanians, whose influence on the racial stock was the most lasting of any. For centuries Greece was the shuttlecock of foreign conquerors. The Romans and the barbarians were followed by the French and the Venetians. Finally, about 1460, the Turks got complete possession of the land, and then began three and a half centuries of oppression more grinding and terrible than anything that had gone before. Every imaginable indignity was heaped upon the miserable denizens of the once glorious land. The crowning insult was the child tax, by which one fifth of all the male Christian children in Greece were taken away to Constantinople, to become servants, clerks and janissaries for the Turk. The

strongest, healthiest and most intelligent children were always chosen, and the tax was so oppressive that it caused many to become Mohammedans, while others reached a pitch of degradation where they welcomed the tax as a means of saving their children from starvation. During all this period the Greeks in Egypt, Asia Minor and Syria were suffering like misfortunes under the Arabs and the various successive masters of these lands.

At last, in the beginning of the nineteenth century, the spirit of independence awoke, and in 1821 began the long struggle which seven years later culminated in the freedom of Greece from the Turkish yoke. The task of reconstruction was a difficult one. Athens was in ruins, scarcely any of the houses even having roofs. A new state had to be created from nothing but ashes. As there was no royal family in existence, a ruler had to be chosen. Capo d' Istria was first made president, but he proved unequal to the position and was assassinated in 1831. Next a Bavarian boy of seventeen was called to become king, and ruled as King Otho until 1862, when he too was deposed. Then George of Denmark, a brother of the dowager queen, Alexandra of England, was called to the throne, and has managed to hold his position up to the present time. His cool, even nature proved a valuable counterpoise to the excitability of his subjects. But his task was a difficult one, and progress was so slow that in 1888 the historian Cox wrote:*

"That man must be sanguine indeed who can bring himself to think that during the years that have passed (since the deposition of Otho) the evils which affect Greek society have been attacked at their roots. . . . . The old

* Cox, General History of Greece, p. 670.

faults of the Greek character still produce their evil fruit of personal corruption, of reckless place-hunting, of selfishness, faction, jealousy and slander. The memory of a great past still leads to talking rather than action; and the close of half a century of independence leaves the Greeks much where they were when the first years of freedom seemed to give promise of better things."

The very considerable progress, both intellectual and material, which has been made since that time reflects a great deal of credit upon both sovereign and subjects.

With these facts in view there have yet been plenty of writers to take both sides of the race controversy. Out of the voluminous literature on the subject the following opinions may be quoted:

"I am unable, for one, to accept the theory that the modern Greeks are in any real sense either the true representatives of the ancient Greek race or the repository of its traditions."*

"Living in the midst of the same surroundings, with the same climate, the same needs, and the same occupations, the Greeks have retained many of the peculiarities of their ancestors. The foreign blood which runs in their veins has been thoroughly assimilated."†

Perhaps the strongest advocate of the unity of the modern with the ancient race is an Italian, Dr. G. Nicolucci, whose work is reviewed by J. B. D. in the *Anthropological Review* (6:154). He concludes that in physical and moral characteristics the Greeks of today are not

---

* The Thessalian War of 1897, Charles Williams, *Fortnightly Review*, 67:959.

† Life and Travel in Modern Greece, T. D. Seymour, *Scribner's*, 4:46.

degraded from the happiest days of the ancients. "Anthropology . . . . proclaims the Greeks of today legitimate descendants of that people who filled the world with its name and glory."

But the bulk of authority, including such names as Cox, Professor Fallmerayer, A. L. Koeppen, Dr. Hyde Clark, Benjamin Ide Wheeler and W. A. Elliott, is on the other side. Professor Fallmerayer went so far as to claim that the Hellenic blood was completely annihilated. Perhaps the most trustworthy summary is that given by Prof. William Z. Ripley in his Races of Europe, Chapter XV.

"The modern Greeks are a very mixed people. There can be no doubt of this from a review of their history. In despite of this, they still remain distinctly true to their original Mediterranean ancestry. This has been most convincingly proved in respect of their head form. . . . . There can be no doubt that in Asia Minor, at least, the word Greek is devoid of any racial significance. It merely denotes a man who speaks Greek, or else one who is a Greek Catholic, converted from Mohammedanism."

The unbiased traveler in modern Greece can hardly fail to be converted to the belief in a serious admixture. Albanian settlements are frequent in many districts of Greece. Eleusis, the home of the ancient Mysteries, is now an Albanian town. Within two hours' walk of Athens, I strolled into the little village of Kamatero. I entered the coffee-house and sat down for a little conversation with the host. Noticing that he spoke in a strange tongue to his wife, I asked him what it was. He replied: "Albanian. But not true Albanian. We in the village here are all 'half-tongues.'" In Messenia there is a large

Albanian population. When the railroad was put through between Zevgalatio and Kalonero, there was a discussion between a Greek village and an Albanian one as to the name of a station which lay midway between the two, with the result that the present station building bears on one end the name "Ætos," and on the other "Soulima." It is almost inconceivable in the face of such evidence, and in remembrance of the frequent invasions to which Greece was subjected for so many centuries, that there should not have been a very profound admixture of foreign blood. While most modern Greeks deny this vehemently, it is nevertheless no uncommon thing to find a Greek who admits that the race is a badly mixed lot, though he usually excepts his own locality.

It is certainly hard to find any great number of modern Greeks who in physical characteristics suggest the classic type. There are a number of fairly distinct types to be observed today. One of the commonest is of a fleshy habit, with rather broad and heavy features, and a nose large and almost bulbous. As regards anthropology, the modern Greek is more broad headed than the ancient, whom both Nicolucci and Ripley agree to have been dolichocephalic, with an index of about 75.7. According to the latter, "The cephalic index of modern living Greeks ranges with great constancy about 81." Dolichocephaly is especially prevalent in Thessaly and Attica, while brachycephaly is more abundant to the north, particularly in Epirus. About Corinth, where there is Albanian mixture, the index rises above 83. On the whole the Peloponnesus is said to have best preserved the early dolichocephaly. Modern Greeks are decidedly brunet, perhaps more so than the ancients, though we can not go as far

as one author who has attempted to prove that the ancient Greeks were blonds on the basis of the fact that the gods were usually represented as of fair complexion. He argues that the gods would undoubtedly represent the type of the race and that therefore the majority of the population must have been blond. The absurdity of such a course of reasoning appears when we remember that the modern Greek has a profound admiration for blondness, because it is so *rare*, and it is very probable that the ancients represented their gods in this way for the same reason.

In regard to the pigmentation of the eyes, the brunet type of the modern Greek is frequently varied with blue or gray. In stature the modern Greek is intermediate between the Turks, and the Albanians and Dalmatians, about 1.65 meters or 5 feet and 5 inches. The characteristic face is orthognathous, oval, rather narrow and high, though as observed above, in regard to features there is great variation.

But whatever may be said in regard to the physical descent, there can be no doubt that spiritually the modern Greeks are the direct inheritors of the ancients. A familiarity with the modern people brings countless illustrations of the similarity of thought and character between the old and the new, and clarifies many a dim passage in ancient history. This spiritual identity has been taken by some writers as a proof of physical unity. It should rather serve as an illustration of the permanency of custom, language, and habit of thought, which enables national character to survive, while the physical basis on which it rests is slowly but profoundly changing. The modern Greek is still a wanderer, adventurous, devoted

to a sea-faring life. He has "that peculiar mingling of caution and daring supplemented with resourcefulness and enterprise, that make the ideal sailor."* He is still very inquisitive, a great talker, as eager as ever to "tell or to hear some new thing." He will make a long story, illustrated with emphatic gestures, out of the very simplest occurrence, and two Greeks are never at a loss for something to talk about. Greece, particularly Athens, is flooded with newspapers. It is said that Athens publishes more daily newspapers than New York. They contain a good deal of news, but they also contain a considerable amount of scurrilous abuse of each other and of various public personages, which is highly pleasing to the Greek palate.

The Greeks share many characteristics with other south European races. They are passionate, quick-tempered and excitable, though their impetuosity does not so often lead to serious crimes as in the case of the Italians. They are voluble and very fond of noise. To see a crowd of men gathered round a card table one would think that they were on the very point of a bloody hand-to-hand encounter. The cards are slammed down on the table with the greatest violence, fists are shaken in faces, and such epithets as "thief," "liar," and "scoundrel" circulate freely. But in point of fact the players are on just as friendly terms as a couple of northerners calmly discussing the prospect of rain the next day. This fondness of the Greek for noise is of course greatest if he makes it himself. It may be mere vociferation. It takes more shouting for a couple of boatmen to bring their bark to the gangway of a steamer than an Anglo-Saxon would require to

* The Modern Greek, W. A. Elliott, *Chautauquan*, 43: 144.

manœuver a fleet, while on an occasion like the arrival of a big steamer in the Piræus, when there are fifty boats struggling for the patronage, the effect is like a very Babel let loose. But it may also be music. The Greeks are beyond doubt a very musical people. The cabman on his box, the bootblack at his stand, the clerk behind the counter, and the shepherd on the hillside are alike liable at any moment to burst forth into song. The visitor to the prison on the hill back of Patras is pathetically impressed with this fact as he sees a group of prisoners seated around a table, singing away the afternoon to the accompaniment of a guitar.

The real native music is of a strictly Oriental type, weird, minor melodies, pitched in a high key and sung in a nasal voice, with various grunts and groans, all quite meaningless and often ludicrous to a western ear. Here, too, volume is an essential. One of the printed rules in one of the hotels in Tripolis is, "Guests are not allowed to sing in their rooms." But when trained in Occidental music the Greeks produce very fine effects, both vocally and instrumentally. The military bands that one hears so frequently in Athens are well worth listening to. The native songs are almost all passionate love songs, quite out of accord with the national marriage customs. To hear some dark-haired dandy, "his eyes in a fine frenzy rolling," sing in an impassioned voice,

> By fate men wander far, some east, some west,
> The eyes see other places, new and strange;
> In some new tree the doves rebuild their nest;
> The heart alone of all things knows no change,*

* Freely translated from a popular song.

one would never suspect that at that very minute the singer might be carrying on negotiations with two or three different fathers to see which would pay him the highest price to take his daughter off his hands.

The Greeks are also very fond of dancing. The folk dances are generally performed by men individually, though sometimes two or even more will unite, and occasionally a man will lead one or more women through the dance, the man and the woman next him holding the opposite ends of a handkerchief. The movements differ in various localities, but in general consist of a series of attitudes, poses and slow gyrations, accompanied at times with snapping the fingers or shouts. In the cities the society circles have taken up mixed dances, waltzes, two-steps, etc., which under the existing social conditions is a change not wholly desirable or beneficial.

The Greeks are by nature courteous, polite and hospitable. Strangers are regarded with frank curiosity and are subjected to all sorts of personal inquiries, in regard to age, business, destination, marital condition and a host of other topics. But they are welcomed, and kindly treated. A Greek will gladly give up a whole day to the entertainment of a stranger in whom he is interested. The Greek language contains many graceful salutations and greetings. One of them, "ὡρίσατε," corresponding to the Turkish, "bouyurenes," would add much to the English language if it, or something of the same significance, could be adopted. It has a wide variety of meanings, such as "welcome," "help yourself," "sit down," "glad to see you," "beg your pardon," etc., but in general it means that you are to make yourself at home and have anything that you want. Unfortunately, in regions especially sub-

ject to tourist visitation, this natural hospitality has been brought into conflict with the equally natural commercial spirit, and has lost much of its charm. But outside of those classes whose business is serving travelers, a Greek who has rendered some slight service will, with refreshing frequency, refuse a tip.

The commercial spirit and shrewd business ability are very characteristic of the modern Greeks. As already remarked, they are the business men of the Levant. They are successful traders wherever they go, particularly if they are dealing with people of somewhat less alert minds. Unhappily this love of trade frequently develops into a decidedly mercenary spirit. If the love of money is a root of all evil we have not far to seek for the cause of many of the vices which affect the Greek nation. A five minutes' conversation between two Greeks is almost certain to touch, first or last, upon money matters. Unfortunately also, this commercial spirit is all too frequently coupled with commercial dishonesty. Illustrations of this will come up later. It has probably done more than any other one thing to counteract the natural energy, enterprise and ability of the nation, and impede the industrial progress of Greece.

In general, dishonesty is one of the most serious faults of the race. It expresses itself in lying, and in business and political untrustworthiness, not so often in actual theft. Commercial travelers complain of the readiness with which Greek business men will break a contract, if better terms are subsequently offered from another source. The universality of the habit of lying is something which impresses almost every traveler, and one is at first almost inclined to think that the Greek will lie in preference to

telling the truth, even when there is no question of advantage. But this is an injustice. The fact is, not so much that the Greek is a liar, as that he is not a truth teller. The American youth is trained from infancy to the belief that whatever happens the truth must be told. The Greek feels that if any important matter is at stake, such as his own personal gain, or the good name of the race, truth is subsidiary, and must be sacrificed to greater ends. But the result is that it is far from safe to put too much confidence in the statements or promises of the average Greek, where there is the slightest chance of any personal interest being at stake.

So in business dealings the principle of *caveat emptor* certainly prevails. A shopkeeper will leave half his stock exposed and unguarded without the slightest fear, and a peddler has no hesitation in letting his donkey get out of sight two or three corners ahead of him. He knows that his goods will not be molested. But when it comes to actual trade, then it is a contest of wits, without any compunction if a serious advantage is taken of ignorance or lack of ability.

This practice of haggling over a bargain, which it must be said seems to be on the decline, is partly due to a love of play, a sort of childishness, which is a prominent feature of the Greek character. Trade is regarded as a form of sport and you win the admiration rather than the ill will of your opponent if you get the better of him. This fondness of the Greek for making a game of everything has been well described by Benj. Ide Wheeler.* He is writing especially in regard to the prospects of the Greek nation

* The Modern Greek as a Fighting Man, Benj. Ide Wheeler, *North American Review*, 164: 609.

in the approaching war with Turkey (1897). He remarks that war was always a form of sport among the Greeks, and a battle was a sort of game. He predicted that as long as the war bore the character of a hunt with a large element of chance, adventure, excitement and individual achievement the Greeks would prove themselves good soldiers. But as soon as it settled down to long hard campaigns, dull delays, and systematic movements *en masse*, the results would not be so favorable, for the Greek hates plodding, and does not submit readily to discipline or authority. "As long as war presents some reasonable element of sport, a chance of winning, a fair opportunity for exercise of the wits, features of surprise and shifting interest, the Greek will stay by and be an admirable soldier, but any application of the one-price system—the mechanical routine of drill, the monotonous life of the camp, the mechanism of march and retreat—will set his war fervor sorely to the test."

The Greek's love of authority manifests itself on frequent occasions, and is one of the principal obstacles in the way of united effort in any direction of national interest. The Greek hates to submit to the control or direction of any one, especially one of his own race. But clothe him with a little authority and he feels fairly in his element. In his fondness for uniform caps he almost equals the German. Even the street car conductor or the watchman at a grade crossing feels a tremendous sense of his own importance and asserts it with a great deal of flourish. This probably accounts in part for the reckless way in which carriage drivers urge their horses through the most crowded streets of the cities without the slightest apparent consideration for pedestrians. Being in possession of a

certain sort of superiority, they see no reason why they should not make the most of it. There is also no consideration for the feelings of the horse, for the Greek is very harsh in his treatment of animals. One who knows them well says that it is perfectly safe to say that they are the most cruel people to animals in the world. This is, however, probably something of an exaggeration, for one does not see the open and universal abuse of animals on the street which is so familiar and so depressing in Naples, for instance. Nevertheless, there is plenty of room for improvement among the Greeks. One day in the environs of Athens I saw a man entertaining himself and a couple of children in the following way. He had a crow, which for some reason had lost the power of flight, and was holding it in the air for a dog to jump at. He would allow the dog just to get his teeth over some of the feathers and then would jerk the bird away. After doing this a few times, he would put the crow on the ground and let it hobble away, holding the dog in the meantime, until the crow was twenty or thirty feet away. Then he would loose the animal and allow it to catch the bird, rescuing the latter however before it was killed in order that the whole process might be repeated. All three seemed to be enjoying the sport immensely and manifested not the least sense of shame. When the bird finally expired under the treatment the only apparent regret was that the pastime was ended.

The public dog catcher in Athens makes use of a pair of powerful steel pincers, perhaps twelve feet long, with which he seizes the dog across the ribs, fairly crushing them with the pressure. The poor victim is then dragged after him down the street, shrieking with agony, and

nobody thinks anything of it. People have a sort of superstitious dislike of killing kittens, but will leave a newborn litter of them out to starve in a cold corner without the least compunction. This absence of sympathy between man and the dumb animals has been cited by one shrewd observer as one of the great causes of the notorious weakness of the Greek cavalry.

Probably the most pervasive and serious vice of the people is gambling. The element of chance has an immense attraction for the Greek, and is manifested in many ways. Lotteries flourish everywhere. A common advertisement in coffee-houses, groceries, etc., all over the kingdom is of a national lottery for the support of the fleet and the maintenance of the antiquities. On the occasion of religious festivals and other gatherings of the people, gambling games are much in evidence. They vary in type and in simplicity. One of the most obvious that I have seen consisted of an eight-sided top spun in a soup plate. The sides were numbered from one to eight and the player was invited to bet a "pendara" on the number of the side which he picked as the one on which the top would come to rest. If he won he received five "pendaras." Anyone could see that the "dealer" stood eight chances of winning to the player's five, and apparently most of them did, for the game was not largely patronized. This passion for gambling infests every phase of Greek life to such an extent as to lead travelers frequently to express themselves in some such terms as the following:

"It seems to be the irony of fate that a country with the traditions and associations of Greece should today be possessed and governed by a people whose one national

instinct is gambling, and who while talking of the aspirations of Hellenism, occupy their time in political intrigue."*

The Greek is much inclined to be indolent, egotistical, vain and superficial. While he displays great enterprise in business ventures, nevertheless his highest ambition is to acquire sufficient means so that he can spend the last years of his life sitting in idleness in the clubs and coffee-houses, discussing politics and the thousand and one trivial things that a Greek can find to occupy his mind. This coffee-house habit is one of the greatest drawbacks to national progress. At all hours of the day these resorts are full of men, idling away their time drinking coffee, smoking, playing cards and talking. It is a harmless enough pastime in itself and has social features which would commend it if engaged in with moderation. But the amount of time that is absolutely frittered away in this fashion would accomplish great things for the nation if applied to some useful purpose. The Greek loves to keep up the appearance of prosperity and leisure. In Patras and Athens there is a numerous class of so-called "black-coats," young men of uncertain occupation, who are much in evidence in the coffee-houses and public squares, appearing faultlessly attired and ostensibly enjoying an important and lucrative business, though in point of fact, as some one has remarked, "they may not have two francs to jingle together in their pockets." It is said on good authority that the business buildings which pay the highest rent are the coffee-houses, and the next are the barber-shops.

* The Conduct and Present Condition of Greece, Walter B. Harris, *Blackwood's*, 162: 268.

Love of glory is a prominent feature of the national character. There is nothing that pleases the typical Greek more than to be the center of attraction—to be in the limelight. Mr. Wheeler says, "It was an old saying of the other Greeks that the Athenians rowed well when coming into the harbor," and the same might be truly said of the whole nation today. A Greek proprietor of a pool hall in Omaha told me that he was planning to spend $200 or $300 in company with another young man in playing Achilles at the Ak-Sar-Ben festival in the fall of 1908. The following anecdote illustrates this point nicely, as well as several other phases of Greek character. In front of one of the steamship offices in Patras I was talking with one of the agents (a Greek) and a young man who was about to start for America. The boy had been in the United States before and I asked him if he knew English. He replied, "Just a little," whereupon the agent laughed and remarked to the boy, "You say that to him, but if *I* had asked you, you would have said, 'Oh, yes, I know the language perfectly.'" Then turning to me he continued: "You see, the Greek is a great lover of glory, and about things that do no harm, he lies valiantly. If there is anything at stake, he will tell the truth, but about his own accomplishments and achievements he will exaggerate to an unlimited extent." There is no better way of expressing this element of character than to adopt the slang phrase, and say that the Greeks are a nation of "grandstand players."

This love of display is coupled with great confidence in one's own abilities and readiness to undertake any sort of a project. This is an important element in Greek character and is so well illustrated by the course of the

War of 1897 that we are justified in giving a brief space to the history of that conflict. The boundary line between Greece and European Turkey has always been a tender subject, and frequent alterations in this arbitrary line by the European powers, toward the end of the nineteenth century, had irritated Greece to the point where only a slight incentive was needed to cause her to rise in protest. This was furnished by the action of Turkey in promulgating massacres in Crete which aroused the keenest resentment on the part of the Greeks. By the middle of February, 1897, Crete was occupied by a Greek military force. Cretan refugees flocked to Athens and were joined by hosts of peasants, swarming in from the hills. The enthusiasm for war was intense. "Ζῆτώ ὁ πόλεμος" was scribbled with chalk on walls all over the city. Mobs daily besieged the palace demanding that war be declared at once. In point of fact the country was absolutely in no condition to declare war. The army was poorly officered, undrilled, inadequately equipped with arms and ammunition, and altogether very far from being an efficient war machine. But nobody paid any attention to this. Greece had been insulted and must be avenged. There was undoubtedly much of true patriotism in the outcry. But there was also much of bombast. Those who shouted the loudest for war were the ones who made the most strenuous efforts to avoid enlistment. But the clamor continued with increased vehemence, and the great throngs before the palace insisted that war be declared or that the king abdicate and the ministry resign. Meanwhile the secret societies, particularly the powerful Ethnike Hetairia, were busy and encouraged outbreaks on the frontier, which tended to force the king's hand.

He finally felt the irresistibility of the pressure and yielded, and war was declared.

Then followed a series of events which puzzled observers and made the contemporary magazine articles on the subject very curious, contradictory, and somewhat amusing reading. There were a number of conflicts in the north of Greece. The Greek soldiers fell far short of the standard which they had established for themselves in the war of independence. The battles were described as a series of panics, and the officers scathingly condemned for the way in which they deserted the soldiers after a defeat and left them to pursue their retreat as best they could. The Greek fleet was much superior to the Turkish, and nobody could understand why the Turkish military trains were allowed to pass unmolested along the Macedonian railway, within easy range of the coast, where a single Greek battleship might have completely annihilated both the trains and the railroad. On the whole, the Turks got the best of the conflicts. But when they apparently had the situation in their hands they failed to press their advantage, and, seemingly by the influence of the powers, peace was arranged.

In explanation of these puzzling events, the following statement was given me by a gentleman in Greece who is thoroughly intimate with all Greek affairs, social and political, and whose authority is unquestionable. The Greek people were sincere in their rage against Turkey and in their zeal for war. When it became evident that the king would be forced either to declare war or to abdicate, the powers of Europe saw that if the work of the past thirty years was not to be wholly undone, some action must be taken at once. Accordingly, the British

minister, the Greek minister, the Turkish minister and perhaps one or two others got together and planned out the whole war beforehand. The battles, attacks and retreats were all arranged in advance. The fighting was planned in such a way as to cause the least possible bloodshed on both sides, while giving the people a chance to exhaust some of their war fervor. The Greek fleet was allowed to bombard a small village near the coast but was not permitted to molest any of the Turkish trains. The Turkish government on its part agreed to withdraw its troops from Crete and cede Thessaly to Greece.

It is an interesting story from a historical point of view, but its importance to us at present is in the sidelight which it throws on the Greek character. It all turned out as was anticipated. The populace very soon lost its warlike enthusiasm. Those who had been the keenest for hostilities were the slowest to take up the burdens of the conflict. There is considerable justification for statements like the following, which occur frequently in the contemporary history of the war.

"The national vice of windy enthusiasm for great ends, combined with unwillingness to perform the solid labors by which alone these can be secured, has at last brought despair into the hearts of the best Greeks at home and abroad."*

The people of Athens were accused of showing a callous indifference to the results of the war.

"Frantic at first with the war fever, they have done but little either for the army, the wounded or the refugees." †

* The Wreck of Greece, Henry Norman, *Scribner's*, 22:399.

† The Conduct and Present Condition of Greece, Walter B. Harris, *Blackwood's*, 162:286.

Many writers speak of the extremely democratic character of the Greeks. This is perhaps true in a political way; it is not in a social way. There is a well-developed sense of the distinctions between the social grades. Many times I have heard Greeks speak in a sneering way of the low-class Greeks who were the first to come to this country and of the bad impression which they have given the nation in the minds of American people.

The Greek is passionately fond of politics and ambitious for political position. Mr. J. Irving Manatt speaks as follows of politics in that country:

"Instead of party government Greece groans under 'boss' government." The spoils system flourishes. The government is a whirligig. "The life of a Greek ministry averages a little more than ten months." *

After knowing the Greeks for some time one is strongly tempted to say that one of the greatest curses of the modern nation is its inheritance from a glorious past. The Greek realizes well how he suffers in comparison with his predecessors, but seems to feel that past greatness atones and compensates for present failures. Greece feels that Europe and civilization in general owe her a debt of gratitude and support in return for the contributions made by the inhabitants of the country two thousand and more years ago. She has been styled, "the spoiled child of Europe." Every effort is made to establish the close connection between the modern and the ancient nation, and the assumption is that if this can be proved any present shortcomings are of slight moment. A stupendous project has just been launched, that of

* The Living Greek, J. Irving Manatt, *Review of Reviews* (American), 11:398.

compiling a "Historical Lexicon of the Greek language, from its earliest use to the present time," which is to contain every word ever pronounced by Greek mouths, and is expected to represent the "historical evolution of the Greek nation and its racial unity." This is perhaps a very commendable undertaking in itself, but if the energy and money which it will entail could be expended on a serious endeavor to conquer some of the problems of the modern nation, the final benefit would be vastly greater. In fact, one cannot help feeling that if the modern Greek could cut himself loose from all sense of a glorious ancestry—including such wild dreams as the "grand idea" of possessing the whole Turkish Empire—and could bring himself to face the responsibility of the improvement of present conditions, and to take up the burden of citizenship with a spirit of serious independence, it would mean much for the progress of the country.

Turning to some of the more pleasing aspects of Greek character, we note first of all a genuine patriotism, manifesting itself in a variety of ways. It is perhaps misguided at times but it is almost always sincere. If some of the wealthy men who devote large sums of money to the erection of costly public buildings, expositions and stadia would turn their attention to some of the more practical and humble needs of the country, which perhaps have less of personal glory connected with them, it would be a great gain. Greece could well use large sums of money in the establishment and maintenance of agricultural and technical schools, in the improvement of her roads, in the betterment of some of her harbors, or in the operation, perhaps for a time at a loss, of a large woolen mill. Nevertheless the spirit which animates the gifts which have

done so much to beautify Athens is truly admirable. During the year 1905, wealthy Greeks residing abroad contributed the following sums of money for the purposes designated: *

Syngros Hospital for Venereal Diseases	1,500,000 drach.†
Maraschleios Normal School	900,000 drach.
Maraschleios Commercial Academy	800,000 drach.
Aigeneton Gynecological and Nervous Diseases clinic	500,000 drach.
Home for the Aged of Athens	1,500,000 drach.

This feeling of patriotism is especially evident when the Greek is in a foreign land. Find him there and tell him that you have been in his country and his heart swells with a genuine emotion. "Did you go to Athens?" is the almost invariable query. "Isn't it a beautiful city? And the palace there?" The tie between the absent Greek and his home village is always a very close one.

Life in Greece is essentially an outdoor life. It does not take the form of athletics to nearly the same extent as in England or America. The Greek youths have few outdoor games, aside from marbles, kites and the like. But the Greek loves to sit out in the open air. In fine weather the public squares of the cities are closely dotted with tables, belonging to the neighboring coffee-houses. One of the most charming features of Greek social life is the περιβόλια or coffee-gardens, where one may sit and sip the fragrant beverage or munch a sweetmeat, surrounded by orange and lemon trees, with his ears filled with the sound of the clear water running in the irrigating ditches on

* Reports of Consul-General George W. Horton, Athens.

† Drach. or dr., the drachma, equivalent to about $.19 American.

TYPICAL DWELLINGS

every hand. The Greek is very fond of sweetmeats and knows how to make them in a variety of delicious forms.

Unless his temper is aroused the Greek is generally light-hearted, buoyant and good-natured. He has a fine sense of humor in spite of some extraordinary statements to the contrary made by travelers.* His humor is not always of the daintiest but it has a flavor of its own which is quite distinctive. The following anecdote serves as a very good illustration. It must be borne in mind that every male Greek wears a mustache, and the first evidences of down on the lip (which comes quite early) are welcomed by the Greek boy as a sign of approaching manhood. A clean-shaven American traveler of about thirty was having his shoes shined by a clever little bootblack in Athens, in the meanwhile good-naturedly chaffing him and a grizzled laborer who stood near. The conversation turned to the subject of weather and the laborer asked, "Do you have as cold weather as this in America?" "Oh, yes, much colder," replied the stranger. Whereupon the bootblack added, "In American it is so cold that it freezes your mustache, isn't it? and that is why you shave it off."

One point on which practically all travelers agree is the marked temperance of the Greeks, and this is indeed one of their most commendable characteristics. Of course the drinking of light wines is a universal practice, and the use of beer is becoming more and more common. But these beverages are seldom taken in excess, and the stronger liquors are rarely used except in the artificial societies of the cities. Drunkenness occasionally occurs,

* Mr. Mahaffy (Monasteries and Religion in Greece, *Chautauquan*, 9:1) speaks of the curious solemnity and seriousness of the nation. "You will not hear a joke in a generation in Greece."

to be sure, but it is sporadic, not habitual. During a five-weeks' trip through the Greek mainland I recall seeing only two men who gave evidence of being intoxicated.

Another matter upon which there is remarkable unanimity among observers is the social purity of the Greek people. It is to be feared, however, that there is some exaggeration about these statements. The matter of the sexual morality of a race is naturally one of the most difficult things to determine. Statistical proof of any proposition is almost impossible to obtain. The investigator is forced to rely on the personal opinions of those who are intimately familiar with the people in question, supplemented by such observations as he may be able to carry out. The following sketch of the moral conditions of the Greek people is based on such grounds. Certain informants to whose opinions especial weight has been given are Protestant Greeks, whose separation from the orthodox religion enables them to look upon their race with a degree of impartiality, and yet whose patriotism will prevent them from being unjust to their countrymen, and whose character makes their statements worthy of every confidence.

In the interior and rural districts it is undoubtedly true that the moral status is far from bad. Greek women are guarded very carefully by the male members of their families, and if a girl is wronged, her father, brother, or other male relative immediately takes up the issue, and it is an understood thing that the betrayer shall either be compelled to marry the girl, or be killed. Consequently there is no great amount of actual immorality between the sexes, though of course intrigues are not unknown. On the other hand the mental attitude of the men toward

these matters is not always elevated, and their passions find frequent expression in such vices as sodomy.

When we turn to the large cities, however, we find a much less encouraging state of affairs. In Athens and Patras the conditions are said to be exceedingly deplorable. This state of affairs, especially in Athens, is largely attributed to French influence, and in both of the above-named cities the women of questionable character are almost wholly foreigners. In many ways the moral tone of fashionable society in these cities is very low.

If we turn to Turkey we find the conditions even worse. There is the same distinction in favor of the interior and rural districts. But in Smyrna conditions among the Greeks could hardly be worse. The actual details are too revolting for discussion, but an idea of the matter may be gained from the fact that a well-known, able and successful Scotch doctor felt compelled to leave the city because, apart from the mission circles, he could not find a decent social atmosphere in which to bring up his family of children. Another indication is furnished by the practically universal belief among the young men of the city that no boy can live to grow up to manhood without engaging in sexual indulgence.

The greatest curse of Greek family life is the wretched dowry system which is saddled on the country, and saps all the romance out of the marital relation. No young man ever thinks of marrying a girl who is not provided with a satisfactory dowry, and the marriage contract amounts practically to the purchase of the bridegroom. The principal incentive for the industry of the men of the country is to secure enough money to make good matches for their daughters and sisters. In this respect the young

men show a really admirable devotion to their sisters. It is quite an exceptional thing for a Greek to think of entering the wedded state himself until all his sisters are married. The following illustration will show how thoroughly this idea is ingrained in the Greek thought.

I called one day on an officer of the Greek army, living in Athens, to whom I had a letter. He was away on duty, but I was received by two women of his family. In the course of the conversation, with characteristic curiosity, they asked concerning my family. Being informed that I had no sisters they remarked, "Ah! It's better so." "Why is that?" I inquired. "Then you don't have to gather together money to marry them off."

In a marriage contracted in this way there will naturally be little of mutual affection and regard, at least to start with. In the way of comradeship and true communion the Greek bridegroom expects little and so is not disappointed. The wife looks after the household and bears the children, usually a goodly number, and is not expected to enter particularly into the varied interests of her husband. This explains the readiness with which a Greek will leave his wife and start out for a residence of five or ten years in America. There is very little social companionship among the young people of different sexes.

Greece has a well-developed educational system. There are four grades of schools: the common, four years (sometimes six years, in which case the graduate is excused from the first two years of the following grade); Hellenic schools, three years; gymnasia, four years; university, four years. Upon the completion of the university course the student is a candidate for the doctor's degree. Education is free and compulsory in the common schools. In

the following grades the yearly tuition is respectively, ten drachmas, twenty drachmas and one hundred and fifty drachmas. By law, parents are held responsible for the attendance of their boys and girls at the common schools, subject to a fine, but as my informant, the librarian of the Council, remarked, "The law is not always applied." Women have now begun to enter the university. These schools are all supported at public expense, the common schools by the municipalities, the others by the royal government. Every village is supposed to have at least its common school, and the Greeks are on the whole a well-educated people. In fact, in some respects they are sadly over-educated. There are more doctors and lawyers than the diminutive country knows what to do with.

CHAPTER III

Religion and Language

THROUGHOUT the whole checkered history of the Greek race from the beginning of the Christian era to the War of Independence there have been two great unifying factors, without which the nation would probably have been dispersed and absorbed long ago. These are the national religion and the national language.

The Greek church has a more authentic and unbroken history than the Roman Catholic church. It was well established in the Levant at the time of the Council of Nice, and the Roman church had used the Greek language and been subservient to the Greek church. After the death of Constantine, the city which he had founded became the recognized head of the Christian church, and in the reign of Justinian, magnificent and costly churches were erected all over Constantinople. The chief of these was St. Sophia, dedicated Christmas day, 538. For the next six centuries Constantinople successfully resisted the attacks of the Mohammedan Saracens. During this period the separation of the eastern and western churches took place. The Roman popes laid claim to a direct apostolic succession from St. Peter. The power of Rome grew with the destruction of the leading eastern churches by the Saracens. It altered the Nicene creed, and forbade the priests to marry. "Its abject worship of images and the host, its ignorance, its dependence on the western barbarians, its pretension to a place above all the other patriarchates in honor and power, naturally excited the

disapprobation and fear of its eastern brethren; and at length Antioch and Alexandria, Jerusalem and Constantinople, united in displacing forever from his place in the Christian church the heretical and ambitious Bishop of Rome."* The final separation took place in 1054.

During the succeeding years when the territory of the eastern church was devastated by the Turks, the power of Rome increased still more. In fact, it is doubtful if the eastern branch of the church would have survived that dark period if that form of Christianity had not been adopted by Russia, whose career as a Christian nation dates from the year 1000. Her rulers were converted by pageantry and diplomacy as much as by convincing arguments. She copied closely the Greek ritual and church buildings. In 1587 Moscow took the place of Rome in the eyes of the eastern church as the fifth patriarchate. In the long and bloody conflict with the Romish Jesuits the Russian church finally prevailed, and preserved a form of religion which the Greek nation recognized and claimed as its own when its independence was established.

The Greek church is the only one which has consistently followed the decrees of the Council of Nice. The worship of the Virgin Mary is not predominant, and its clergy are married, though its monks are not. In doctrine the Greek church differs somewhat from the Roman. It accepts the Holy Trinity, but the Holy Spirit is assumed to *proceed* from the Father only. The doctrine of redemption is Scriptural. There must be works with faith. There are no indulgences, and no purgatory, but an "intermediate state of the departed" in which they remain until the

* The Greek Church, Eugene Lawrence, *Harper's Monthly*, 45: 405, from which much of this historical review is taken.

resurrection. Its ritual approaches that of Rome. The sacraments are Marriage, Confirmation, Extreme Unction, Ordination, Penance, Baptism and the Lord's Supper. Infants are baptized on the eighth day by trine immersion. It holds to transubstantiation, but the host does not receive the same adoration as in the Roman church. Penance, auricular confession and absolution are regarded as very fundamental. The priest must know what he is absolving.

The ritual is even more laborious than the Roman. There are many fasts, the principal ones being Lent, from Whitsuntide to St. Peter's day, from the 6th to the 15th of August, and forty days before Christmas. The monasteries have others. The regulations concerning these fasts are rather complicated. In the main they involve the giving up of meat, and of fish except on certain days. No olive oil is to be used in cooking. These fasts are observed with a good deal of strictness and work considerable hardship on the people of moderate means. But the well-to-do have many means of avoiding any discomfort. Instead of olive oil, sesame oil is used in cooking, and caviar, shell-fish, etc., take the place of meat. In fact, in many cases, the fast food is more tasteful and pleasing than the regular diet. If a Greek is questioned in regard to the importance of fasting, he is likely to say, "Oh, it is very healthy to clean out your system by leaving off meat once in a while," and however faulty the argument may be from a theological point of view, there is a good deal of truth in it, for the wealthy Greeks eat altogether too much meat regularly.

One of the chief points of difference between the eastern and the western churches was in the matter of images.

The Greek branch maintained that the worship of statues or images was idolatry. But they substituted pictures for the images, and pictures (eikons) still hold a very important place in the worship of the Greek church. These are representations of various saints, and the common justification for their use is that the contemplation of them calls up the worthy lives of those whom they represent, and leads to emulation of their good qualities. The pictures are often executed in silver, in high relief, but the faces and often the hands are made flat, which keeps them from being images.

Church buildings are exceedingly numerous in Greece. They are of all sizes and are scattered in all sorts of places, from the largest cities to some out-of-the-way nook of country, where there is perhaps no other building in sight. The modern Orthodox Greek church building is usually patterned on the Byzantine type of architecture. The interior decoration differs in elaborateness with the importance of the church and the wealth of the congregation, but an important feature is always the pictures. Regular services are held on Sundays and holidays, but the churches are usually kept open on week days for the devotions of individuals. The regular service consists largely in the reading of the Scriptures, while the worshipers come in and remain as long as they feel moved to, passing around the church, kissing the pictures and making the sign of the cross. The services are read in the ancient language and in an indistinct, singsong tone, so that the people get absolutely no meaning out of the reading. The priests discourage and prevent, as far as possible, the circulation and reading of the Scriptures, and as a result the great mass of the common people are

extremely ignorant as to the real truths and teachings of the Christian doctrine.

Nevertheless, to the form of his religion the Greek is decidedly loyal. A Greek is born to his religion just as he is to his nationality. It would be hard to find one who would not profess to be a Christian. Church services are quite well attended and when a Greek passes an isolated chapel he very often enters and remains a moment, paying his respects to the pictures contained therein. The sign of the cross is habitually made before eating and on passing a church or chapel. The houses of devout Greeks each contain a sacred picture with an olive oil lamp always burning in front of it. The Greek insists positively on the truth of his form of faith, and will defend stoutly dogmas which he does not in the least comprehend. Unfortunately, as would be expected under such conditions, there is very slight connection between religion and morality, or ethical living. A man may be a very good Christian, and a very bad man—bad, at least, according to the views of an outsider. When the form of religion has been observed, a man is free to go out and do much as he pleases, to lie, cheat and oppress to his heart's content. Benjamin Ide Wheeler in the article above referred to (see page 25) says that while patriotism keeps the Greek loyal to his church, "her teachings are practically of slight importance to him." There is a good deal of superstition still existent in the Greek church, much of it connected with the ancient pagan religions.* A great deal of religious importance attaches to certain places and

* A very interesting account of this matter may be found in an article by P. d'Estournelles, entitled, "The Superstitions of Modern Greece," in the *Century Magazine,* 11: 586.

days. Nearly every day in the calendar is some saint's day, and the observance of it depends on the importance of the saint, or the number of people who are named after him. The "name-day" is customarily observed instead of the birthday. On the Galata bridge in Constantinople there used to be an old Jewish guide whose invariable greeting as he walked up behind the stranger was: "Good morning, sir. This is a fine day, sir. This is a Greek holiday, sir." He was fairly safe in the statement.

Much has been written on both sides in regard to the character of the Greek clergy. In point of fact, the character of the priesthood varies with the character of the individual priest. There is but little check on them. Many of them accordingly are earnest, upright and sincere. Some of them are lazy, hypocritical and vicious.

One of the most scathing attacks ever made on the Greek church, as well as on numerous other phases of Greek life and society, is found in a book in modern Greek from the pen of Andrew Lascaris, called "The Mysteries of Cephalonia." A review of this book may be found in the *Westminster Review*, 67 : 228. It was published some time ago (1856) so that there has at least been room for improvement since. The author says that the Orthodox churchmen have three kinds of religious services (quoting from the Review) : "One which they profess and do not perform; one which they perform and do not profess; and one which they both profess and perform. The first is the service of Christ, the second that of the devil, and the third that of the belly." There is much more of the same tenor which need not be quoted. The author was himself a native of the island in question, which he was compelled to leave as a result of the publication of his book. The

only answer, however, to his charges was from high church authority and consisted in abuse and anathema rather than in argument.

The monasteries are an important feature in the modern Greek religion. There are several very ancient and famous ones, prominent among them the one at Meteora. This is situated on a rock over 300 feet high and the only way to reach it is to be pulled up by a rope and net. But there are a large number of minor ones scattered all through the kingdom. The denizens, who are of two classes, monks and lay brethren, spend their time in religious exercises, and in tilling the soil and tending the herds. There is always a chapel in connection, in which services are held, and the monks frequently go out and hold services in neighboring churches. Boys are devoted to a monastic life by their parents, and commence their training in early life.

Another characteristic feature of this form of Christianity is the religious festivals or *πανηγύρια*. These are held in certain places on certain specified days. The people gather early in the morning, and a religious service is held. The most obvious part of this consists in passing a contribution plate and sprinkling the donors with holy water from a small bottle, resembling those used by barbers. This ceremony is soon over and the rest of the day is given up to enjoyment, singing, dancing and drinking. These pursuits frequently become very boisterous and revolvers shot into the air add zest to the revelry. On one occasion I saw the priest himself enter fully into the spirit of the day, singing, drinking and shooting off revolvers. By night he was so drunk that it took four men to get him home. The people seemed just

MONK AND ACOLYTE

a trifle disturbed, but remarked: "Never mind. Just once a year. What harm does it do?"

One of the prettiest of these festivals is that held at Megara on the first Tuesday after Easter. Early in the morning the people gather from the villages all around, attired in their holiday costumes, the men in short, heavily pleated white kilts, the girls in brightly colored dresses with embroidered aprons and their dowries in the form of coins sewed into caps on their foreheads, or hung around their necks. The main dance of the occasion is performed by the girls. It is called the "trata" and is supposed to represent the movement of drawing in the nets at the seashore. Other groups, sometimes containing both men and women, perform the customary folk dances.

Easter is a very important season with the Greeks. Another beautiful celebration held in connection with it is that observed in Athens on the eve of Easter Sunday, at the Metropolitan Church. By twelve o'clock the square in front of the church and the streets leading into it for some distance are packed with people. Each holds in his hand an unlighted candle and awaits the coming of the priest. At midnight he appears bearing in his hand a lighted candle. Those nearest him light their candles from his and pass the flame on to others, until in an incredibly short time the whole square is blazing as it were with a myriad of tiny stars. Then the assembly breaks up, and the people go home, singing "Kyrie Eleison," and expressing their joy in more noisy ways by means of revolvers and firecrackers.

Summing up the modern Greek religion, then, it may be said that it consists mainly in formalism. Many of the clergy and the great mass of the common people are

densely ignorant concerning the true nature of the teachings of Christ. There is but slight connection between religion and everyday life. Nevertheless, on account of the national character of the religion the Greeks are very loyal to it, and it forms an important part of the constitution of every Greek community.

The second of the great unifying factors mentioned above is the language. There can be no doubt that this has been of great value in keeping up race feeling, and hence race continuity, among the Greeks scattered all through the east Mediterranean countries. But many writers have gone further and have taken the similarity of the ancient and modern languages as a proof of the physical identity of race between the ancient and modern peoples. The erroneous nature of this sort of reasoning becomes very evident on the careful study of such a book as Ripley's Races of Europe. As demonstrated in this work, a language may remain but slightly changed, while the racial stock of the people which uses it is gradually but completely altered. This very process may be seen going on in the United States. In spite of all the change which has come in the ethnic constitution of the American people, it would be hard to find a single important change in the English language as spoken in the United States which is due to the admixture of foreign blood. This is because the infiltration of alien elements has been gradual. Of course there are sections of the country, like the "Dutch" regions of Pennsylvania, where large groups of foreign people, living in comparative isolation, speak a modified English, or a mixture of English and some other language. And if such a city as New York, which contains large colonies of various foreign peoples

where English is almost unheard, were to be shut off from communication with the rest of the United States and at the same time was allowed to receive the same foreign contingents year by year, it would be hard to guess what sort of a language would eventually result. But if a gradual immigration from various foreign lands were to continue for a few generations, the immigrants being slowly and evenly diffused throughout the whole country, until the Anglo-Saxon blood of the American people should become as a drop in the bucket, it is very doubtful if any appreciable alteration in the English language would be produced thereby.

There is still another possible case—when a conquering nation holds dominion over another. Then we may expect to find many words transferred from one language to the other in both directions. In the case of Greek, the danger of using language as a test of race is increased by the fact that within recent years a strong effort has been made to bring the modern language artificially into closer conformity with the ancient.

In point of fact it is hardly correct to speak of a modern Greek language, for there are two grades of modern Greek, so distinct as almost to be called separate languages. For convenience sake they may be distinguished as "high Greek" and "low Greek." The former is essentially the written language, the latter the spoken language. Most writers on modern Greece ignore this point almost completely. Mr. John Stuart Blackie, writing in *Blackwood's Magazine*, speaks of the two grades, but he makes the distinction not so much that between a written and a spoken language, as between the language of education and culture, and that of unedu-

cation and ignorance. As will develop later, this does not exactly hit the point.

In the writings of modern travelers we frequently find such sentences as the following: "The student of ancient Greek finds no great difficulty in reading a modern Greek newspaper." This is not wholly untrue. But no mention is made of the fact that the uneducated Greek peasant has great difficulty in understanding the newspaper when it is read to him. A missionary in Smyrna, to whom Greek is as much her native language as English, read some passages from the modern Greek New Testament to her kitchen maid—a very intelligent, though uneducated girl—but she was not able to understand them. An experience of my own well illustrates this point. While taking a short trip in a sailboat, I said to the boatman one day, "Λάβε τὸν πίλον μοῦ (take my hat)," and he looked at me in blank incomprehension. I repeated my remark in low Greek, "πάρε τὸ καπέλλο μοῦ" and he understood at once.

It is not to be understood that there are two distinct sets of people, one speaking one grade of the language and the other the other. High Greek is the vehicle of expression of literature, oratory, etc. Low Greek is the language of conversation. Educated people of course are familiar with both, but nobody thinks of talking the kind of language he reads in the newspapers, unless he is striving for effect. This difference is not merely one in nicety of expression, or choice of idiom, or correctness of grammar. It is all this, but it is more. All through the language there is a difference of words, even for the simplest of meanings. One will be high Greek, the other low. The meaning will be identical. It is almost superfluous to remark that the high Greek approximates most

closely the ancient language. The following list of words is typical.

High Greek	Low Greek	English Equivalent
ἐπιλανθάνομαι, λησμονῶ	ἐκχάνω	forget
ἄρτος	ψωμί	bread
ὕδωρ	νερό (ν)	water
κάθισμα	καθέκλα, καρέκλα	chair
πῖλος	καπέλλο (ν)	hat
ἰχθύς	ὀψάριον, ψάρι	fish
ὀφθαλμός	μάτι	eye
ἵππος	ἄλογο (ν)	horse
οὕτως	ἔτσι	so
βοῦς	ἀγελάδα	cow
κύων	σκύλος	dog
τίθημι	βάλλω	put
ἐννοῶ, καταλαμβάνω	καταλάβω	understand
σελήνη	φεγγάρι	moon
ἔργον, εργασία	δουλειά	work

These words have been chosen with care that there should not be the slightest difference in significance beween the terms. It will be observed that some of the low words are corruptions of high words, but more come from an entirely different root, and show no connection. This list might be extended almost indefinitely, but the examples will suffice. This reduplication of words naturally applies mainly to words expressing some common, everyday idea. In the case of the more unusual, abstruse or refined conceptions, which are used exclusively by people of some education or culture, the same distinction does not exist.

These two grades, of course, frequently overlap both in writing and conversation. There are extensions in both directions. In looking up words in the dictionary one finds

some of a highly classical flavor, which he might search long to find in daily use, though their more vulgar equivalents may be of very frequent occurrence. On the other hand, the very uncultured and ignorant use a degraded language sufficiently distinct as almost to be classed as a third grade. But in this respect, Greek is not wholly different from other languages. Perhaps no word better illustrates the variety of elegance in the expression of a common idea than the word for donkey. The good word is "ὄνος," the vulgar word is "γάδερος" or "γαϊδερος." But in common use this is changed to "γαϊδοῦρι," and as like as not the peasant will hitch on his favorite diminutive ending and call it "γαϊδουράκι." Another good example is the word for steamboat. The high word is "ἀτμόπλουν" or more commonly "ἀτμόπλειον." But the word almost universally used in conversation, so low that it frequently is not given in the dictionaries, comes from the French "vapeur" or Italian "vapore," and is "βαπόρι." In many sections this is further corrupted and becomes "πομπόρι." In conversation with an intelligent Greek this matter came up, and he took a piece of paper from his pocket and, with only a moment's reflection, wrote down ten equivalents for the word "stone," and seven for the phrase "he went." In this case, however, there would probably be some slight distinction in meaning between some of the words. Even to so common a word as the indefinite article "a" or "an," this distinction extends. This in Greek is the word "one" and is properly declined, "εἷς, μία, ἕν," and so one finds it in the books and newspapers. But no one ever thinks of using it so in conversation; there it is declined, "ἕνας or ἑνός, μία, ἕνα." But this is really a matter of grammar, and brings us to the consideration of that topic.

The grammar of the modern Greek language is theoretically very similar to the ancient, though some superfluities such as the dual number have been dropped, and the genitive case very largely takes the place of the dative. In writing, the rules of grammar are adhered to with considerable fidelity, but in conversation Greek suffers the changes that every highly inflected language is liable to. There is a constant tendency to reduce the inflection of both verbs and nouns. Unnecessary inflectional terminations are dropped. Every possible noun is put into the neuter and is made to end in "ο" or "ι." Only three cases, the nominative, genitive and accusative, are used, and in the neuter the first and last of these are the same. Agreement between an adjective and a noun, and other fine points of grammar are carelessly treated, and the constant tendency is to reduce the language to a less cumbersome, more convenient means of expression. In some ways the efforts of the scholars to force the language back into its classical form are commendable. Yet it is very questionable whether it is wise to try to stem the current of natural development, and it seems highly probable that the result will be, instead of purifying the everyday language of the people, merely to make the resources of modern Greek literature comparatively unavailable to the lower classes.

The pronunciation of modern Greek differs considerably from the Erasmian pronunciation which is taught in the American schools, and which arouses the extreme ridicule of modern Greeks. The greatest variation is in the vowel sounds. "α" has but one sound, corresponding to the English "a."* "ε" and "αι" are pronounced "ĕ." "η,"

* As in "father."

"ι," "υ," and the dipthongs "ει" and "οι" all have the same sound, the English long "e," the commonest vowel sound in the Greek language. "ο" and "ω" both have the same sound, "ō," while the diphthong "ου" is pronounced like "ou" in "through." "αϊ" has the sound of "ī," but is rarely used except in words of foreign derivation. There are accordingly only about six vowel sounds in modern Greek, with the result that the language is decidedly monotonous to listen to. As regards the consonants, the principal variations from the Erasmian system are "β," pronounced "v" and "δ" pronounced "th."* "ρ" is rolled and "γ" and "χ" have a guttural quality for which there is no English equivalent.

In language, as in other things, there are frequent local peculiarities in the various portions of the Greek world. For instance, the Cretans have quite a distinct pronunciation for the letter "χ" equivalent to the English "sh." In general, the language of Greece proper is "higher" than that of Turkey, where there is a greater admixture of Turkish and Italian words. The Greek pastor of one of the Protestant churches in Turkey, an extremely intelligent man, and a graduate of the University of Athens, found difficulty in preaching to his people in a language which would be intelligible to them. On the other hand, in some of the out-of-the-way islands, untouched by the changes of centuries, there is said to exist a language strongly suggestive in many particulars of the classic Greek.

Our conclusion in regard to the language must be that while the modern tongue is widely divergent from the ancient, there is yet an unbroken connection between the

* As in "then."

two, and though we are not warranted in taking this as a proof of the racial homogeneity of the ancient and modern peoples, there can be no doubt that the language has rendered great service in preserving the race feeling, and in maintaining the *national* continuity of the people.

CHAPTER IV*

The Direct Causes of Emigration

IN the preceding pages we have endeavored to give a hasty portrayal of the life and character of the modern Greeks, with special reference to migration movements, and we have seen that for varied reasons emigration from Greece is no new thing. It has been in the spirit of the Greek people from time immemorial. But in past generations it has been a gradual, natural movement, a draining off of the surplus population. Within the last fifteen years, however, there has sprung up a new emigration—the emigration to America—which is no longer a gradual withdrawal of those who cannot find elbow-room in the old country, nor a natural departure of the more adventurous and enterprising, to seek more fertile fields of fortune. It is a radical, violent exodus of all the strong young men, which has already devastated whole villages, and threatens to leave the entire kingdom depleted of its natural working force. What is the origin of this phenomenon? What are the causes of this sudden and startling emigration?

(1) It is a well-known principle of all emigration, that there must be some active dissatisfaction or discomfort in the home land to cause large bodies of people to leave. The assumption is that the generality of mankind will remain in the land in which they are born, unless some strong motive impels them to leave. The inertia of human beings is great. To induce people to break the bonds of family

* This chapter was printed in the *Yale Review* for August, 1909, and is reproduced here by permission of the publishers.

and neighborhood relations, to give up a known situation for an untried one, to turn their backs on the home country and seek some far-off shore, there must in general be some national, local or personal disability to overbalance the influences of home attachments. The difficulty may be political, religious, economic or social. In seeking the causes of the new Greek emigration we must examine each of these possible classes of causes, and eliminate any which have no bearing on the problem under discussion. For the present purposes three of them may be dismissed very briefly.

First of all, the political condition. Greece is a very democratic country politically; and while there is probably too much political agitation, ambition and turmoil for the good of the country, there is no true political oppression. It would be hard to find a case in which the political condition was an active motive for emigration. The terms of military service are light. All men over twenty-one years of age are required to render active service for two years, but this is usually done gladly, and instead of finding Greeks fleeing from home to escape this duty, we more often find them returning from America on purpose to perform it. The insecurity which still prevails in some sections is occasionally cited as a motive for emigration, but it is a factor of very slight importance. The same may be said of religion. Practically every Greek is loyal to the form and name, at least, of the orthodox religion of his country and finds its service no hardship. There are no oppressed religious sects or denominations. The religion is a national one, and a Greek feels no more uneasiness in respect to it than he does toward his race. It is true that Protestants are not very kindly looked upon

in Greece, but they are not at all a numerous class, and as for any real persecution, there is none of it. Religion cuts practically no figure as a motive for emigration. Nor does the social aspect of the matter yield an explanation. While there are social classes in Greece, they are very largely determined by wealth, and the social disabilities that any man feels are largely the result of economic conditions. There remains then the economic situation, and we may be permitted to anticipate, in so far as to say that the causes of Greek emigration are practically entirely economic. This being the case, a rather detailed examination into the economic conditions of the country must constitute the basis of our inquiry.

The population of Greece, according to the last three censuses, was as follows: 1889, 2,187,208; 1896, 2,443,506; 1907, 2,631,952. As the area is about 25,000 square miles, the population per square mile in these years was respectively 87, 97 and 105. This is by no means a dense population, and while there are vast expanses of mountain area where there are very few inhabitants, still even in the more thickly settled districts the people are not sufficiently crowded to justify us in regarding mere over-population as a cause of emigration. Many countries get along very prosperously with a much denser population than this.

Greece is today, as of old, primarily an agricultural and pastoral, and secondarily a mercantile country. The same mountains and seas still divide it into a series of small habitation-districts, somewhat less isolated than formerly, indeed, on account of improved transportation facilities. The great majority of the people still live in small towns and villages which are self-supporting and self-sufficient;

PEASANT PLOWING WITH WOODEN PLOW, MEGALOPOLIS

there are few large cities in Greece.* The abler mercantile spirits must still seek a foreign field for their energies.

Agricultural methods and implements are still very primitive in Greece. The bulk of the cultivating is done either by means of heavy iron hoes, wielded by hand, or by rude wooden plows drawn by diminutive oxen. In some of the more enlightened districts steel plows are beginning to be used and horses are employed for draught purposes. Within a half-hour's walk of Athens, however, one will find wooden plows, sometimes with iron shafts. Thus the cultivation of the soil is very superficial. Simple irrigation systems are in very common use. The harvesting is done by hand, and the grain is trodden out by ponies on a circular, stone-paved threshing floor. In the Lake Copais district in northern Greece, on the land made available for cultivation by the drainage of Lake Copais, more up-to-date methods are in use. Even here, however, reapers and binders had to be discarded on account of the softness of the ground, and the old sickles or reaping-hooks employed again. Steam threshers are still in use in this region.

The principal agricultural products of Greece are currants, wheat, olives, figs, corn, hashish, tobacco and a variety of garden vegetables. Currants are mainly exported, and hashish entirely (mostly to Egypt); the other products are largely consumed at home. It is comparatively easy to make a bare living in Greece; while the arable plains and valleys are often so stony as to make a

* The population of the principal cities in 1907 was as follows: Athens, 167,479; Piræus, 67,982; Patras, 37,401; Corfu, 27,397; Volo, 23,319; Hermopolis (Syra), 17,773; Trikala, 17,809; Zante, 13,501; Calamata, 13,123; Pyrgos, 13,690; Tripolis, 10,787; Laurion, 10,007. From Consular Reports, Mr. Nathan, Patras.

peasant open his eyes in incredulous wonder when he hears of farms where a man can plow all day without striking a single pebble, they are nevertheless fertile, and even under inadequate cultivation yield a fair return. The rocky hillsides support flocks of sheep and goats which furnish wool for clothing material, and milk, butter and cheese for food. The necessities of life therefore are close at hand and easily accessible; while there is a good deal of exaggeration about the common saying that, "a Greek can live on the smell of an oiled rag," yet the needs of the peasant are simple and easily supplied. Want that verges on starvation is rare in Greece.

On the other hand, it is difficult under these circumstances to lay up even a moderate amount of money. As would be expected in a primitive agricultural country, each of the small towns or villages, which form a characteristic feature of the Greek social organization, is almost entirely independent. The majority of the families raise their own living materials; thread is spun and cloth woven by hand and at home; baking is done in the stone or mud oven which stands in every typical dooryard; shoes, cooking utensils and various implements and tools are made in small shops in the village. Thus each man's products are virtually the same as his neighbor's, and there is small necessity or opportunity for exchange. As a result, the internal commerce of Greece is insignificant.

This state of affairs is accentuated by the small development of transportation facilities. While there has been much improvement in this respect in the last few years, means of communication are still very inadequate. There are a number of good highways in Greece, some of them kept in fair condition; other roads are merely a succession

of mudholes, while a great part of the carrying must still be done by horses or mules over mere bridlepaths. When crops have to be transported in this way for several hours before reaching a railroad or market, any possible profit is quickly consumed. The railroads are all owned by private companies, of which the stock is largely in foreign hands. In 1908 the mileage was as follows: Hellenic railways, 149 miles; Peloponnesus Railway, 468 miles; Thessalian Railway, 127 miles; total, 744 miles.* The trains are of the English type, the cars small and the tracks narrow. The schedules are for the most part very slow: the distance from Athens to Calamata, about 205 miles, is a matter of about twelve hours by rail, an average of seventeen miles per hour; between Athens and Patras express trains run three or four times a week which make somewhat better time. There are three classes and the tariffs are as follows: First class, .12, second class, .10, third class, .06 drachmas per kilometer. Reduced to our basis of measurement these rates are, 3.8, 3.2 and 1.9 cents per mile. The postal service is miserable: if a letter is in the mails between Patras and Athens, the addressee is fortunate if he receives it before the third day after it is posted. At the same time domestic letter-postage is .20 drachmas, the equivalent of four cents, which seems especially exorbitant when the diminutive size of the country is considered.

The ignorance and stupidity of the people sometimes impede improvement along these lines. A short time ago, when an effort was made to introduce freight and passenger automobiles for service between Tripolis and Sparta, and some freight automobiles in Athens, the populace

* Daily Consular Trade Reports, October 2, 1908, p. 11.

opposed the innovation with demonstrations amounting almost to riots. The argument advanced was that these new machines would put horses out of business, thereby advancing the price of bread, as there would then be no demand for bran. The press supported the demonstrators!

One of the most up-to-date transportation facilities in Greece is the electric tram line between Athens and the Piræus. In the equipment, handling of passengers, running of trains and attendance, this line is admirably managed.

In consideration of the conditions outlined above, and the difficulties of interior commerce resulting therefrom, it is inevitable that for any lucrative trade the Greek is obliged to rely upon export; and yet the exportable products of the country are few. By far the most important of these is the currant, a small, very sweet, seedless grape which is raised on the lowlands along the west coast of the peninsula and on some of the islands. This district furnishes practically the whole currant supply of the world. The currants are dried in the sun, cleaned, packed in cartons, boxes, or barrels, and shipped to England, America, or elsewhere. Currant raising is the fundamental industry of the nation, and the dependence of the whole Greek people on the currant crop is almost pathetic. Other export products are wine (made largely from currants), cheese, olives and olive oil, figs and hashish.

The importance of the export trade, even though the articles of export are so few, added to the natural mercantile proclivities of the people, has led a large part of the Greek people in all times to devote themselves to maritime pursuits. The Greeks are today, as always, a nation

of sailors. The following statement is taken from Mr. Horton's reports: "According to 'Veritas,' a British publication, the Greek marine for 1906 numbered 204 steamers of 353,484 total tonnage, while in 1905 it consisted of 185 steamers of 333,921 tonnage. Of sailing vessels of more than 50 tons each, the number is given for 1906 as 877, with a total tonnage of 179,845." Greece is said to be the foremost rival of Great Britain for the trade of Constantinople. Sea traffic has been considerably facilitated by the Corinth Canal, completed in 1893. This was not a paying investment on the basis of the original cost, and was recently sold at auction; on the new, and much smaller capitalization, it is said to be paying handsome dividends. Unfortunately it is too narrow to admit the larger ships in the Mediterranean service. The principal port of the kingdom is the Piræus, which has an excellent harbor, and the main shipping port for the currant crop is Patras. In the height of the shipping season the whole water front of the city presents a scene of feverish activity. Patras is also the main point of embarkation for the emigrants to America.

When it became evident that emigration to America was going to assume large proportions, efforts were made to organize one or two Greek steamship companies, operating direct lines to the United States. But the inveterate factionalism and commercial dishonesty, so characteristic of the race, seriously hindered these projects. In regard to one of these companies we find the following statement in an official report in 1905: "Unfortunately the projected line of steamships between the Piræus and New York has not yet materialized. The project fell through just at the moment when it seemed about to be realized, on account

of personal differences among the directors. The company is now split up into two hostile factions, one of which seems to have the ships and the other most of the money, and until they get together there is not much prospect of the line being got into running order." This passage undoubtedly refers to the Moraites Company, which was finally organized and in 1908 sent its first ship to New York. But the company was short-lived. Soon after its organization two of its ships were sunk, one near Greece and one near New Orleans, and the circumstances of the sinking of at least one of them were so suspicious that the insurance companies refused to pay the loss. This catastrophe, coupled with dissensions among the directors, broke up the company; it was speedily reorganized, however, and is now doing business, under the name "Themistokles," which is also the new name of the principal ship of the line. More recently a new line has been started bearing the title "Hellenic Transatlantic Steam Navigation Company, Ltd.," whose principal emigrant ship is the *Patris*. This company, too, had a stroke of hard luck, which cast a shadow over its career and tended to put the Greek companies in bad repute in the eyes of shippers and insurance companies. Late in the winter of 1908-09 one of its cargo steamers was entering the harbor of Patras at night and collided with a Belgian cargo boat lying anchored outside the breakwater, sinking the latter in water deep enough to preclude all probability of salvage. The excuse given by the Greek captain was that he could not tell whether the other ship was outside or inside the breakwater.

Frederick List, in his system of economics, laid great stress on the importance to any nation of a diversified in-

PLANT OF THE SOCIÉTÉ HELLÉNIQUE DE VINS ET SPIRITUEUX, ELEUSIS

dustry. There can be no doubt that in the generality of cases, the agricultural resources of a country need to be supplemented by a well-developed manufacturing industry in order to secure the greatest prosperity. In this respect Greece is sadly lacking, for its manufactures are in a very low state; the plants are for the most part small and comparatively insignificant.* One sees very few factories of considerable size while traveling through Greece; some of the most notable plants are those of the Société Hellénique de Vins et Spiritueux at Eleusis and Calamata. The reasons for this meager development of manufactures are various. In the first place, Greece is very poorly supplied with mineral resources; there is no coal, and the lignite which has been discovered in northern Greece has hitherto proved of little value. The mineral products include iron, manganese, chrome ore, magnesium, sulphur, emery stone, plaster, salt, lead, silver ore, speiss, marble and millstones. But the total value of these products in 1905 was only $2,615,086, though it rose to $4,070,928 in 1906.† Lack of coal is not compensated for by any abundant water power; the mountain streams are utilized in a small way to turn gristmills, but if there are any extensive resources in this direction, they have not as yet been developed.

Another economic disability is presented by the matter of taxation. The agricultural taxes are not heavy; they consist mainly in a tax on live stock and one on productive plants, as for instance a tax on vineyards of from one and one half to four drachmas per stremma (1,196 square

* In Table 1 is given a list of the principal manufacturing establishments in operation in the principal cities of Greece in the year 1905.

† Consul-General's Report, 1908.

yards). But the total is not great and these taxes are not felt as a burden. The customs tariffs, on the other hand, are very onerous; they are arbitrary and in many cases extreme.* The customs officials are often careless and arrogant, and the assessments are very uneven, varying from 15 per cent to 30 per cent on the same article. Goods are handled very roughly by the inspectors, frequently being dumped out on the floor, and breakage in the customs house is a serious item in the cost of goods. There is also a great deal of corruption among the officials.

Another really serious hindrance to the development of manufactures is the frequency of religious holidays. The profits on an expensive installment of machinery are very quickly eaten up if it has to lie idle eight or ten days out of the month—and the Greeks will not work on holidays. Even to the casual traveler, it is a source of continual annoyance to be unable, on irregularly recurring occasions with which he is unfamiliar, to make purchases or to have checks cashed. The commercial representative of a foreign business house finds the situation still more vexing. Industry in Greece is subject to the common disadvantages which affect all undeveloped countries. Transportation difficulties have been noticed; and the difficulty of getting repairs for machinery is another quite important element in the problem. There are some iron and brass foundries, but their output is mainly rough, and as most of the machines in use in the country are imported, the breaking of a small part may cause a very expensive delay.

There still remains to be considered what is the most fundamental and perhaps the most serious of all the hin-

* Table 2 gives the tariffs on some of the principal articles of import.

drances to the development of industry in this country—the old dishonesty and inability to work together in harmony, which have already been mentioned as inveterately Greek. These people seem incapable of carrying on a large coöperative business with harmony and success. When Greek meets Greek, still comes the tug of war—each individual tugging to get the greatest possible share of the profits into his own pocket, or at least to get the completest possible control of the business into his own hands. One of the maxims of Greek business life translated into the American vernacular is, "Put out the other fellow's eye"; the idea of sacrificing personal interest and gain for the sake of the company's prosperity is foreign to the Greek mind. This is not merely the opinion of a foreign observer, but is frankly admitted by many intelligent and candid thinkers among the Greeks themselves. The disastrous effect of this peculiarity in the case of the Moraites Company has been alluded to; and yet another example is furnished by the lead mines at Laurion. There are two companies working these mines, one Greek and one French: the former has every advantage, while the latter works only the tailings left by the ancients; yet it is said that the French company is making handsome profits, while the Greek concern never pays a dividend on account of disagreements among the directors.

This industrial stagnation is not due to lack of capital, for there is plenty of it in the country. There are many wealthy Greeks, and large sums of money are lying on deposit in the banks of Athens, drawing only 3 or 4 per cent.* But the Greek plutocrat of today, who in all probability has made his fortune in some foreign land,

* These sums are said to amount to 300,000,000 francs.

prefers to spend it in a life of idleness and ease in the coffee-houses and clubs of Athens rather than to take the trouble to employ it himself in some productive industry; and he is afraid to entrust it to any of his countrymen to be so employed, for he has no confidence in their business ability or honesty.

The conditions outlined above have produced an anomalous and very unfortunate situation in Greece today. Prices are very high, wages are very low; a comparison of actual figures* will show that for the working man even the ordinary comforts of life are almost out of the question. Within the last few years Athens has ceased to be a cheap place to live in, and has become one of the most expensive cities in Europe. A summary of this state of affairs is quoted by Mr. Horton from a writer in the *Economist d'Orient*, as follows:† All the merchants, great and small, testify to a stagnation, the causes of which they can not explain, or profess not to know. The peasants desert the country either to sit about the cafés of Athens and Piræus, or to leave for America. The minister of war has recently been able to recruit only 6,000 to 7,000 men on a call for 15,000. Nearly 200,000 young men have emigrated to America and the Transvaal. About 1,000 houses are vacant in Athens, and yet the prices of rent have raised 15 to 20 per cent. The principal articles of food grow dearer continually, and the products of manufacture, notwithstanding the fall of exchange to 1.08 and 1.09, are at the same price in drachmas as when the franc

* A list of the rates of wages in various occupations will be found in Table 3 and the prices of some of the more important commodities in Tables 4 and 5.

† Consular Reports, May 11, 1907.

was worth 1.55 to 1.60." Rents in Athens net about 5 per cent or 6 per cent after deducting taxes, water-rates, etc. Interest rates in various parts of Greece vary from 6 per cent to 8 per cent or 10 per cent. A few years ago they ran from 10 per cent to 15 per cent.

The fall in exchange, mentioned in the foregoing quotation, is one of the most remarkable features of the economic situation in Greece. The standard of value in Greece is the gold drachma, corresponding in value to the French franc and the Italian lira, but the common medium of exchange is the paper drachma. This money is issued in the form of bank notes, of the denominations of one, two, five and ten drachmas, and higher denominations, the size of the paper note varying with the value. A decade ago the exchange between gold and silver was in the neighborhood of 160, that is to say, with 100 gold or silver drachmas or francs you could secure 160 paper drachmas with which you could go out and make your purchases. Large amounts of money, salaries, and in fact any permanent sums of money are reckoned in gold, while ordinary prices are quoted in the more unstable medium of paper. Even in so recent a publication as the 1905 edition of Baedeker's Guide Book, hotel rates, etc., are frequently quoted in both gold and paper, and the difference is proportional to that between eight and twelve. Within the last few years, however, the rate of exchange has fallen rapidly until it now stands at 108, or even less. The following causes have been suggested for this phenomenon: (1) Loans from European sources for the financing of internal enterprises; (2) restoration of confidence in Greece, leading to the purchase abroad of Greek securities; (3) emigration to America. Large sums of money have been sent

back home, making currency freer. These sums are estimated by the Postmaster-General of Greece at about $8,000,000 per year. Mr. Horton's report for 1905, from which these suggestions have been taken, enumerates three others of a more temporary nature: (4) A good grain crop in Thessaly; (5) the founding of the Banque d'Orient; (6) the fact that during the English-Boer war, gold was used by Greek capitalists to buy ships. With the cessation of the war, this outlay ceased, while the ships continued to earn money.

It is very probable that the money sent home from America should rank as the most important of all these causes. But, however caused, the effect of this fall in exchange is sufficiently definite; nominal prices have remained practically the same as they were ten years ago, which means that real prices have advanced virtually about 30 per cent. There has been some advance in wages to compensate for it; but the wage-earning class in Greece is not a large one, and for the salaried classes and the small independent producer, it means that the cost of living has increased enormously. The whole discouraging situation is so admirably summed up in Mr. Horton's Report on Industrial Conditions, that we take the liberty of quoting several paragraphs entire (Report of 1908).

"There are few manufacturing plants and none of any great importance. . . . . Female and child labor are very generally utilized in Greece, whenever they can be made serviceable. . . . . There is not much hope for a laboring man to save money in Greece, where three to four drachmas a day are good wages and where seven drachmas are regarded as a high wage for a master workman." A laborer earning five drachmas per day will pay ten drach-

mas per month for a room for himself and his family. "The workman's breakfast consists of bread and black coffee; his luncheon of a piece of bread, or if he can afford it, a piece of bread and some black olives, which he usually takes with him in a little round, covered box. Sometimes he buys a half cent's worth of inferior grapes, or a tomato. Thus his lunch would cost, say, six cents for bread and two cents for olives.

"At night the family dines on a few cents' worth of rice, boiled together with wild greens and olive oil, and bread, or wild greens boiled in olive oil and eaten with bread, or some similar inexpensive dish. . . . . Meat is eaten by the laboring classes as a general thing three times a year: Christmas, Easter, and on the so-called 'Birth of the Virgin,' which the church has set down for the month of August. Such a family as I am describing, the average laboring man's family of Greece, rarely if ever see such things as butter, eggs and milk. There are 180 fasting days in the Greek religious year, which are rigorously observed by the laboring class, without, however, causing any marked degree of abnegation in the matter of diet."

People living under conditions of this sort are ripe for emigration, especially if, like the Greeks, they are of a stock which has always displayed great readiness in severing home ties. All that is needed to start an enormous exodus is some immediate stimulus, some slight turn in the condition of affairs, provided that a favorable outlet presents itself, and the process of migration is not too expensive or difficult. As an American gentleman of long residence in Athens remarked, "The wonder is, not that the

Greeks are now emigrating to America in such numbers, but that they did not begin long ago."

The new Greek emigration to America is a matter of the last decade.* It is within this period that these people have been coming in such immense and ever-increasing numbers as to make the movement a true social phenomenon. It seems undeniable that there must have been some moving cause, some epochal development, about the close of the nineteenth century, to have started the wheel to turning with such increased velocity. If we review the causes of the industrial mal-development as outlined above, we find nothing there of very recent origin except the matter of the fall in exchange; this, however, is primarily a result and only secondarily a cause of emigration. It is almost impossible to get even an intelligent Greek to comprehend your meaning if you ask him what was the immediate cause of the new emigration. These people are not fitted by mental equipment or training for analytical reasoning; they habitually look only at the surface of things. About all the answer you can hope to get is something as follows: "Why, our country is poor and America is rich. They go there because they can get more money."

The two most plausible explanations for this new movement are connected with the hostility of Roumania and Bulgaria, and with the failure of the currant market, both of which occurrences are of comparatively recent origin. In former years large numbers of Greeks found a field for their enterprise in the neighboring countries of Roumania and Bulgaria. These Greeks did not belong exclusively to the exploiting class, such as has always gone to Turkey

* See Table 6.

and Egypt—though perhaps here too they were the most numerous; there were also large numbers of agriculturists and some laborers, particularly boatmen and stevedores along the Danube. However, within the last quarter of a century a strong feeling of hostility to the Greeks has grown up in both Bulgaria and Roumania: in Bulgaria the difficulty is largely due to religious antagonism between the clergy and the people of the two nations, and it is coming to pass that a Greek hates a Bulgarian almost as much as he does a Turk. In Roumania the trouble is largely political: in accordance with recent legislation, unless a Greek becomes a Roumanian citizen (which very few are willing to do), he is subjected to a great deal of annoyance and hindrance. In consequence of all this, Greeks have ceased going to the countries in question, and many who were there have returned, sometimes with broken fortunes. It is said that Russia also gives the Greeks less freedom now than of old. Against the use of these facts as an explanation of the new emigration it is argued that the movement to Bulgaria and Roumania was never nearly so extensive as it now is to America, and that the class of emigrants was different from that which turns toward America, being composed much more largely of the commercial and exploiting class. Both of these points are undoubtedly true, but, as has been already pointed out, there were a good number of Greek laborers among the emigrants to the north and east. And even if there had not been, a comparatively small number of the more intelligent and enterprising class, going to America and establishing themselves in prosperous business, would have opened the way for a much larger number of a lower class to follow them. It seems entirely reasonable to suppose

that the closure of one outlet for emigration must have served as a contributory motive for seeking another outlet elsewhere.

The second explanation is, however, probably much more important, as it is directly connected with the basic agricultural industry of the country. About 1863 there appeared in France a disastrous pest among the grapevines which was identified as the phylloxera, a disease caused by a small insect belonging to the family of the *aphidæ* or plant lice, and whose native home is in America. These insects attach themselves to the roots of the vines, forming roughness and swellings, and causing the leaves to turn yellow and wither and the fruit to shrivel up. After the introduction of phylloxera into France it spread very rapidly and caused great devastation. But what was France's loss was the gain of Greece, for the failure of the grape crop in France caused a large demand for Greek currants to be used in wine making in the former country. For a while the currant market was very vigorous, and the culture of this fruit was the most lucrative agricultural pursuit in Greece. Allured by the promise of large and speedy profits in currant raising, the Greek farmers allowed the silk culture to decline, and very many of them cut down their fine old olive orchards and planted the ground with vines. For a while all went well; but in the meantime France was making every effort to discover some efficient means of combating the pest. Chemical inoculation of the soil, inundation of the vineyards, mechanical cleansing of the roots, were all tried with no great success. American vines, immune to the disease, were imported, but this resulted in a deterioration of the wine. Finally, late in the nineteenth century, a new

experiment was tried: American vines were imported and upon their roots were grafted branches of French vines. Thus were combined the immunity of the former and the fine quality of the latter. The process was eminently successful and proved to be the solution of the problem; the culture of the vine revived in France, and as a consequence there was a sharp falling off in the market for currants which spelled disaster for Greece. The olive trees could not be replaced, since it takes many years for an olive orchard to reach a really productive stage.

The depressed state of the currant market is one of the most noticeable features of the economic situation in Greece at the present time. Everybody is talking about it. A large part of the crop of 1908 was still lying unsold in the warehouses the following spring. Various efforts have been made to find some new way to utilize this material. One of the most successful has been the manufacture from currants of combustible spirits which can be used in lamps and heating stoves. The visitor to Greece notices everywhere a peculiar form of lamp, using a mantle of the Welsbach type, but burning alcohol. Experiments are now being carried on in the hope of devising some method of extracting sugar from the currants, and while so far the experimenters have not succeeded in crystallizing the syrup, considerable hope is cherished as to the final outcome of the attempt. At present, however, the currant industry is sadly demoralized.

This serious and comparatively sudden disaster to the market for the principal export crop furnished the immediate stimulus which was needed to make a people, already in depressed condition, seek for some relief from the burdens of their existence. The traditional method of

relief for the Greek people is emigration. All that was needed was the prospect of some favorable country to go to, and some provision for the journey thither. The Greek succeeds best either in countries where he is superior in business capacity to the native inhabitants, or in a highly developed industrial country, where he can work himself into some unoccupied corner of the commercial edifice and build up a small but lucrative trade. To the former class belong Turkey, Persia, and Egypt, and in these countries there are large numbers of prosperous Greek business men. But opportunities of this sort are limited in number and demand an experience, capital and ability which the ordinary peasant does not possess. A large number of Greeks tried the Transvaal, but they were not very successful there, probably because the local English business men were their superiors, and the country was not sufficiently developed to offer many opportunities for profitable small trade. America, on the other hand, and especially the United States, offered just the conditions which the Greek populace was looking for; it was a highly developed country, with plenty of money, and people were ready to pay well for the gratification of their minor wants. For a quarter of a century Greeks had been going to America in small numbers; they had been, for the most part, successful, and were in command of businesses which to the Greek peasant appeared highly lucrative; and they had been sending home glowing accounts of the attractions of America, accompanied by sums of money which appeared munificent to their poverty-stricken relatives and friends in the fatherland. These communications had made their due impression, and when the Greeks began to feel the necessity of escape from an increasingly difficult

situation, America seemed to them the new land of promise, and they began by thousands to answer to her call. Once started, this movement, like the familiar chain letter, could not be checked, but grew by its own multiplication. Each Greek in America became the nucleus of a rapidly increasing group of his own kin or neighbors. So began that great exodus which assumed such startling proportions in the early years of the present century. Given the stimulus and the goal, all that remained to be provided was the means of migration—the material means of conveyance and the financial means to defray the expenses. Both of these were promptly forthcoming; steamship agents are never slow to seize opportunities such as existed in Greece at the time in question, and all the principal Mediterranean steamship lines established agencies in the Piræus, Patras and other ports, as well as in some of the important interior cities. Emigration agents began to scour the country, exciting the imagination of the peasants as to the glories and opportunities of America, clearing away the difficulties which seemed to beset the passage, and in many cases advancing the money for the trip. In other cases, if the prospective emigrant could not get together sufficient money at home, it was furnished him by some friend or relative in America.

Just how large a part in this movement has been played by emigration agents, legally and illegally, it would be impossible to say. In matters of this kind the Greek is extremely deep and crafty, and it would be the work of months, perhaps of years, for a skilled detective actually to make out a case against the Greek emigration agents. They are accused in some cases of working through the priests. One of the first things that attracts the eye of

the traveler landing in the Piræus is the amazing number of American flags flying from office buildings all along the water front and the neighboring streets; their significance is somewhat perplexing until he learns that they are steamship offices or emigration agencies—for there is no great distinction between the two. Patras and all the other leading ports abound in offices of this kind, and they are also to be found in very many cities and villages in the interior. It is contrary to human nature, particularly to Greek human nature, that in the face of this keen competition these agents should merely sit calmly in their offices waiting for such business as might come to them; as an American would say, "they go out after the business," and there can be no doubt that they have exercised a tremendous influence in exciting and perpetuating the movement to America. I was told on excellent authority of one gentleman, born in Greece of English parents, who in the earlier days of the movement was said by his friends to have made ten thousand pounds a year out of this business. He had agents in all parts of the kingdom, and even extended his operations to Turkey; he sold tickets, advanced money to the emigrants to pay their debts to the government and the expenses of the voyage, and in every way facilitated their passage. A few years ago he was complaining that the new immigration laws of the United States were cutting into his profits; and he is now an agent for one of the principal steamship lines. The great harvest for the agent is now over, for the Greek today is too familiar with conditions in America to be fooled by the old stories of dollars picked up on the street, and rich food to be had for the mere asking; but there is

HARBOR OF PATRAS, BY NIGHT

still plenty of money to be made out of emigrants, and will be as long as they keep coming.

The emigration movement, as may be inferred from what has gone before, has given a great impetus to the steamship business of Greece; it is doubtful, indeed, if a single direct line of steamers between Greek and American ports would pay expenses without the emigrant traffic. As it is, there are several that are doing a profitable business. The two Greek lines have been already mentioned. The most important of all lines is the Austro-American, which is a new Austrian company with its headquarters in Trieste. In 1905 it sent its first ship from the Piræus to New York, via Patras, with the expectation of catching the currant and emigrant trade, a project which was very successful. The number of ships sailing direct from Greece to New York was increased, and in 1908 this company had forty-two sailings from Patras to the United States, of which twenty-nine were emigrant boats to New York, six emigrant boats to New Orleans and seven cargo boats to New York, Philadelphia and Boston. In the same year the Prince line had nine sailings and the Moraites line three sailings from Greece to the United States. Almost every important Atlantic steamship company has an agency or connection in at least one of the Greek ports, and many emigrants still go to America by way of Naples, or even of Cherbourg or Havre.

The situation may be briefly summed up as follows: The conditions due to the meager industrial development in Greece have within recent years been accentuated by a marked agricultural depression. This has made it very difficult for the ordinary peasant to secure even a moderate return for his labors. The marked rise in prices which

for various reasons has occurred contemporaneously with the decline in the agricultural market, has added to the burdens of life until they have become very heavy. The Greek peasants have accordingly been led to look for some new field of effort where there are greater returns for labor, and have found it in the United States. The motives for the new emigration are practically without exception of a financial nature, and may be concisely expressed in the answer to his queries which one constantly receives from the Greeks themselves: "We go to America because we can get more money there."

CHAPTER V

The Sources and Means of Emigration

IF we bear in mind the causes of the new emigration movement from Greece as they have been outlined above, we will expect to find that the first sections of the country to respond largely to the call of America were those which were the most purely agricultural and the most circumscribed by their natural surroundings, and also where the people were the most hardy and adventurous. On examination of the actual conditions we find that this *a priori* conclusion is justified. The honor—if such it be—of being the cradle of Greek emigration to America, must be accorded to the districts of Tripolis and Sparta. Both are interior districts and hence mainly agricultural and pastoral. Both are closely hemmed in by mountain chains, with only a few outlets, and in the former district particularly the people are of a very hardy and energetic type. In these two sections we may find the primary springs of the great current which now draws its volume from so many divergent sources, though the greatest contingents still come from these regions.

Tripolis the city, and the villages which are grouped around it lie on a broad and fertile table-land situated in the center of the Peloponnesus, at an elevation of about 2,000 feet above sea level. It is surrounded by rocky and barren mountains, and the only means of egress is through a few narrow passes. The high elevation and invigorating climate have bred a race of people hardy in body, and keen, intrepid, and alert in intellect, who have

always borne the reputation of wanderers and adventurers. From this demos alone it is said that 30,000 persons have emigrated to America, out of a total population of 300,000 to 400,000. A more detailed description of this country and its people will be found in the chapter on the effects of emigration. (See page 229.)

Sparta lies in a valley to the south of Tripolis, at a considerably lower elevation (735 feet). It, too, is surrounded by mountains, but its access to the sea is easier than that of Tripolis. Its people also are of a less admirable type than those of the higher district, though both groups are superior to the lowland population.

From these two centers the contagion has spread until today the whole Greek world may be said to be in a fever of emigration. From the highlands and the lowlands of the Morea, from Attica, Thessaly and Eubœa, from Macedonia, Asia Minor and the islands, the strong young men with one accord are severing home ties, leaving behind wives and sweethearts, and thronging the shores of America in search of opportunity and fortune. "America" is a household word in almost every Greek family. It is amazing to see how familiar Greeks are with conditions in the United States. The economic crisis of 1907 in this country was a topic of common conversation in the coffee-houses, and it was commonly attributed to the uncertainty attendant on the presidential election. "Now that Taft is elected things will be all right." The traveler was asked on every hand whether business was "opening up" in America. The people understand the social conditions in America, and the circumstances in which their friends in the United States live. They know the hardships that the emigrants suffer from dishonest and

tyrannical bosses, and from hard living conditions and a strange climate. But they also know well the opportunities for making money in the far-away land, and every month thousands of them, after weighing the matter carefully, take the final step and follow in the footsteps of their friends. And if one questions a Greek, at home, *en route*, or in America as to the causes of the emigration movement, the answer is almost invariably the same: "Yes, Greece is a beautiful country, but it is poor. It is all rocks and mountains. It is hard to make a living here. America is rich. I can make more money there. It is the money." That one word "money" is the keynote of Greek emigration.

In considering movements of this kind it is always a matter of interest to determine what classes of the population are concerned. It is of vital interest to the United States whether we draw from the better classes, sound in mind, body and morals, or from the lower strata of society. In regard to this phase of the question, after what has gone before, it is hardly necessary to say that as far as the Greeks are concerned emigration to the United States is almost wholly an affair of the agricultural and pastoral classes. The reasons for this are obvious. In the first place the population of Greece is predominantly agricultural, and it is this class which feels most sharply the pressure of the unfavorable conditions of the country. A Greek business man of ability and some capital stands a much better chance of making a handsome fortune in some Mediterranean country than he does in the United States. As one young man remarked, "A Greek who goes to the United States comes back with 5,000 or 6,000 drachmas, while one who goes to Egypt brings back

50,000 or 100,000 drachmas." Of late years there has been an increasingly large number of business and professional men among the Greek immigrants into America. The establishment of large Greek colonies in this country has made a demand for priests, doctors, lawyers and men of letters of their own race.

But of the peasant class, do we draw the better or the poorer? In answer to this question we have already seen that the original and most abundant sources of emigration are sections where the population is distinctly superior to the lowland classes. Mr. N. Gortzis in his book "'Αμερικὴ καὶ 'Αμερικανοὶ," (page 6) says of the emigrants: "But whatever may be their motive, they are superior to the average type of their compatriots. The fact that they do not shrink from crossing an ocean 3,000 miles in extent, to seek new homes and to begin a new life in a world entirely new and strange to them, is enough to show that the spirits which animate their bodies are strong to take risks, to encounter the unknown, to undergo sacrifices far from the surroundings in which they were born and spent their childhood." (Translated.)

The proof contained in the last part of the paragraph quoted seems a trifle inadequate to support so sweeping a statement as is made in the first sentence. It is very likely true that the few original emigrants from any country are of an adventurous, daring and energetic spirit and in that respect at least superior to their neighbors. But it does not follow that the same is true under the conditions which now prevail in Greece. Their destination is no longer a strange and unknown land. The conditions there are not new and unfamiliar. The modern Greek emigrant is ticketed through from his village to his final

destination, his passage is very likely paid by some friend in America, he has probably just as many friends in the American city to which he is going as in his native village and the conditions in which he finds himself in America are in many respects a close replica of his home surroundings. He knows that if he has hard luck in finding work, or falls into sickness or any other form of misfortune his friends will care for him and send him home if necessary. This is the typical Greek emigrant of today, and it is hard to see how his undertaking is a mark of any special superiority of character.

However, to state the matter briefly, it may be said that the Greek emigrating class is composed almost wholly of young men and men in the prime of life. (See page 113.) And when they once get started from any village, they *all* go! All, that is to say, who are not inadmissible under the immigration laws of the United States. For these restrictions are well understood in Greece. It is known that persons suffering from certain classes of diseases, the lame, the blind, etc., will be refused admission, and that America does not welcome old or enfeebled men. But as for the strong young men, emigration makes a clean sweep of them. If a peasant is asked, "Have many gone from your village to America?" the typical answer is: "Oh, yes, they have all gone. All the boys are in America." There are villages in Greece where a boy grows up with just as much of an expectation of going to the United States as an American boy has of remaining here.

The greatest agency in perpetuating and extending this movement is the letter from America. A graphic account of the operation of this force is found in the Report of the Commissioner-General of Immigration for

1907 (page 60): "An influence which perhaps has not heretofore been accorded the recognition to which its importance entitles it is the 'letter to the home folks' written by the alien temporarily or permanently domiciled here. These letters constitute the most extensive method of advertising that can be imagined; almost innumerable 'endless chains' are thus daily being forged link by link. A letter is written to his brother, father, or other relative by an alien who, after a few months' employment here, has been able to save $150 or $200—a small fortune in the eyes of the Italian or Hungarian peasant—picturing in homely but glowing terms the opportunities of this country for money making. That letter is read by or to every inhabitant of the village, or perhaps even passed on to other neighboring hamlets. Others are thus induced to migrate—selling their belongings, mortgaging their property, almost enslaving themselves to procure the amount of the passage. They come, find employment at what seems to them fabulous wages, write letters home: and so the process goes on and on, until some of the rural districts of such countries as Italy and Hungary are almost depopulated.

"Now Greece and Turkey are becoming involved in the same influences. . . . . This is an influence with which it is difficult, if not impossible, to reckon. That it is a telling, if not the most important, factor in the production of immigration there can be no doubt. The worst of it is that there are evidences that this endless chain letter scheme is seized upon by the promoters and money lenders to further their interests, and no opportunity lost to encourage both the writing and the extensive dissemination of such missives. When this is done the line is passed

between natural and forced immigration, and the machinations of the promoter and usurer become a menace to the alien directly and to the welfare of this country incidentally."

Practically every Greek who starts for America has in his pocket a letter from some fellow countryman in America, or at least a business card of some Greek who has established himself on this side. The great majority have some relative or close friend here. We may go still further and say with safety that almost without exception Greek emigrants know to just what place in the United States they are going, and in the great majority of cases have a very definite idea of what work they are going to do when they get here. They are very chary about admitting the truth of the last statement, however, especially if they have the least suspicion that their questioner has any connection with the United States government. For the United States immigration laws deny admission to any aliens "who have been induced or solicited to migrate to this country by offers or promises of employment or in consequence of agreements, oral, written or printed, express or implied, to perform labor in this country of any kind, skilled or unskilled." The letter of this law is violated wholesale by Greek immigrants. To what extent the spirit also suffers it is quite impossible to say. It is a very easy thing for people with the craft and cleverness of the Greeks to cover up any illegality in a case of this sort. It is a common thing to see a Greek who has been in America for a few years returning to his fatherland for a few months' visit, and then going back to America, taking with him a group of half a dozen or more of his friends and neighbors. It is quite beyond the realm of possi-

bility for any stranger to find out by what inducements or promises he has persuaded them to accompany him. A fuller discussion of the contract labor system among the Greeks may be found on page 186.

In the little village of Tsipiana, tucked away among the rocky hills of central Greece, there was living a short time ago a fine young lad with a handsome oval face, wavy hair, and a well-knit, sturdy frame. His name was Constantinos Panagopoulos, but the villagers called him Costa, and for convenience sake we will follow their example. Costa was the youngest child of a family of five, three boys and two girls. His father he had never known, as he had been one of those who lost their lives in the ill-advised Turkish war of 1897, when Costa was little more than a year old. The loss of the chief bread-winner was a hard blow for the family, whose circumstances had never been easy, but they all rose to the occasion and took up the new burdens that presented themselves. Fortunately, they owned a small plot of land just outside the village. Part of this was laid out in vineyard and the rest was given to the cultivation of wheat. The remaining property of the family consisted in a donkey and a few sheep. The little stone cottage in the village, too, belonged to them. This put them in independent circumstances, and they were about as well off as the average of their fellow villagers. After the father's death, the remaining members of the family divided the labor of cultivating their little piece of ground among them. As soon as Costa was able to walk he used to go out with one of his brothers or sisters and help watch the little flock of sheep as they browsed on the hillside.

But about this time there began to be a new stir in the

TSIPIANA (NOTE THE CIRCULAR THRESHING-FLOORS
IN THE FOREGROUND)

village. Well-dressed men with flashing diamonds and gold watches, and a fascinating air of prosperity and worldliness, frequently drove over from Tripolis, and sat about the coffee-houses of the village, telling strange tales of a glorious, far-away land called America, where money could almost be had for the asking, and where the buildings were half a mile high, and strange carriages without horses ran about the streets. More than this, there was work there for everybody and a man could get rich in five years. These men said they had been there and seen all these things, and so it seemed that it must be so. The villagers used to hang around these men in open-mouthed wonder and Costa's two brothers were often in the group. One day one of the flashy strangers walked out to the field where the two boys were working and had a long conversation with them. He asked them why they did not leave this dull and poor little village, where they had no hope of ever being better off than they were then, and go away to America where they could very soon make a fortune and provide a luxurious home for themselves and their family. He said he had a friend in Chicago who was running a large establishment and who needed several boys to do easy work for him, and he would use his influence to get the boys a position with the Chicago man. His conversation inspired the boys with a keen desire to get away to this wonderful land, and they said that if they had the money they would certainly go. But it really was no use thinking of it, for they scarcely could get money enough together to supply the needs of the family, to say nothing of taking trips across the ocean. But the wonderful man overcame every objection. He said that he would provide them tickets all the way to Chicago. Of course he would

take a mortgage on their property, just for the form's sake, but when they reached America they could earn enough in a very few months to pay that off, and have some laid up for themselves.

The upshot of the matter was that the boys were won over. They in turn persuaded their mother, and in the spring of 1901 they started for America. Then began a period of still greater hardship for those who were left. The entire burden of cultivating the field fell on the mother and the two girls, while Costa had to spend all his days watching the sheep. After a couple of months letters began to come from the boys. They were full of disappointment. The "establishment" was a small shoeshining parlor where they had to work fifteen or sixteen hours a day, at wages so small that only by dint of the strictest economy and cruel self-denial could they save even the smallest sums weekly. Moreover, they learned that they had been grievously overcharged for their tickets, but the mortgage was in writing and the interest must be paid promptly, whatever befell.

But as the years went by things began to look brighter. First the boys wrote that they were getting better wages, and were able to begin to make payments on the principal of the mortgage. Then one day came a letter bringing with it enough money to pay off the entire balance of the heavy debt. What a day of rejoicing that was! From that time on things went prosperously. In a short time the boys wrote that they had bought a little candy store and were going into business for themselves. For a while after this the letters brought less money than before, but only for a while. Soon the sums of money which came regularly every month began to assume proportions that

seemed fabulous. These were laid by, until the total was sufficient to pay for the erection of a fine new house, almost the best one in the village.

Thus Costa grew up with his eyes turned toward America. His brothers were not the only ones who had gone to that wonderful land. Every year the number of villagers who left for the United States increased, until by the time Costa was about thirteen there were hardly any young men left in the village. With the dowry provided by the boys in America the elder daughter had been married. Her husband, too, had left very soon for America but he promised to send for her soon and she was waiting in patience. The younger daughter, though she too had a good dowry, was still unmarried—there were so few men in the village.

At last early in the year 1909, Costa received a letter from his elder brother. It contained several strange-looking slips of paper, fastened together, and read something like this:

Chicago, Ills., Dec. 28, 1908.

Dear Costa:

The time we have been so long expecting has at last arrived. Our business has reached the point where we need another helper, and we want you to come over and help us. I enclose a complete ticket from Tripolis to Chicago, all paid for. All you have to do is to show it to the men as you go along. Have dear mother give you a written paper showing that you have her permission to come, as you are not yet sixteen. We will pay you the same wages as we would pay any other clerk. Take the greatest care of yourself, dear Costa, and come quickly. Kiss my beloved mother and sisters for me. I kiss you on the two eyes.

Your affectionate brother.

Needless to say this missive caused great excitement and joy in the boy's heart. The steamship ticket was for a third-class passage on a big ship sailing from Patras early in March—the favorite ship for Greek immigrants, as Costa well knew from having heard it talked of often by the group in the coffee-house.

His preparations for the voyage were simple and were soon made. His few clothes were packed into a new telescope which he purchased in Tripolis. He took a fine, large woolen rug, which his mother had made, for his protection on the voyage. In a small basket he carried some bread and cheese, a number of oranges, and a good-sized bottle of wine. He understood that food was furnished on the ship, but it might not be good, and anyway it was just as well to be on the safe side. Quite a number of the other young men and boys of the village, and one or two older men, were going on the same steamer, and the party made quite a little cavalcade as they started out to walk to Tripolis, where they were to take the train, their goods loaded on donkeys which trotted along ahead of them. This kept Costa from feeling as lonesome as he otherwise would have, and the excitement of the coming voyage almost drowned the feeling of homesickness that tried to rise in his bosom as he kissed his mother and sisters goodbye.

The trip to Patras was uneventful. The trains were full of people talking about America. Some of the passengers had been there before—you could tell them by their queer, flat, square-cornered valises, their different clothes, and their easy, prosperous appearance. They reached Patras on Saturday evening, and put up at one of the many cheap hotels in which the city abounds. In the

morning, Costa went with the others to the steamship office to see what he needed to do. First of all, they took his name, age, and the name of his village, and measured his height, and noted the color of his hair and eyes, and asked him whether he had ever been in prison. All these things and more, were put down on a piece of paper. Then they told him that he must bring his baggage around to their warehouse and deposit it to be disinfected. Then there would be nothing to do until the day of sailing, when he must come around for the inspection. So Costa at once went around to the hotel and got his big valise and carried it on his shoulders to the warehouse where it was deposited on a shelf along with many others. The man in charge pasted a red piece of paper on the end of it and gave Costa the duplicate, telling him to keep it with all care. Costa spent the rest of the day strolling around the city, watching the novel sights of the seaport, strange to the eyes of the inland boy, and using up a part of the money that his mother had given him to carry in his pocket, in purchasing from some of the push-cart men, who thronged the streets around the steamship office, some little things that he thought he might not be able to buy satisfactorily in America—a key-ring and chain, some socks, a pair of scissors and a little mirror and comb in a leather case, in the interest of his budding mustache. He gave the gambling games a wide berth, having received some wholesome instructions on this point from his mother before he left. He stopped for a moment to watch a street dentist who was operating in a carriage on one of the street corners in the midst of a large crowd, but the sight did not please him and he passed on.

The next morning he was up bright and early so as not to get left. The ship had not come in yet and so he wandered around, not getting far away from the steamship office which was the headquarters of all his friends. When noon came and the ship had not arrived there was a good deal of anxiety among the prospective passengers. Finally an announcement was made from the steamship office that the boat would not be in until about five o'clock the next morning, and that if they would all come around at six o'clock that evening they would be given two drachmas each to pay for their lodging that night. Costa scarce dared leave the office all that afternoon for fear he should not be there when the distribution took place.

He was up bright and early the next morning and was standing on the end of the pier when the great ship sailed in. She seemed to Costa the biggest thing he had ever seen. When he could tear himself away from looking at her he went around to the office to be inspected. He found a great throng gathered around the door. Men were being allowed to enter slowly, but it seemed as if there was no chance that he would ever be able to get in. He noticed a number of men counting over American money, which he recognized at once as he had often seen his mother take it out from the letters from America. This reminded him that he had not yet changed his own money and he ran off at once to do it. But he met with considerable difficulty. The first four money changers that he went to said that their American money was all gone. But finally he found one who had two five dollar bills and ten ones, which was just what Costa needed. So he went back to the office, much relieved. It was now getting along towards noon, and the crowd had thinned out somewhat.

The boat was scheduled to sail at five and so Costa thought that he had plenty of time.

Outside of the office was a sort of gate which a man opened every little while and allowed fifty passengers to come inside. Costa waited his turn and by and by was admitted within the gate. He found himself in the end of a narrow alley-way, enclosed by an iron railing, down which the emigrants were moving in single file. Just ahead of him was a man of about thirty-five whom he recognized as one of the men who had been in America. This man took charge of him and explained the different occurrences as they went along. First of all they came to a man who examined their money and their tickets. Costa showed his twenty dollars and was allowed to pass, but the boy just behind him, who had only twelve dollars, was sent back, with the brusque query, "Can't you find somebody to give you a little more than that?" Ahead of him he saw the men rolling up their right sleeves to the elbow and so he rolled up his. Almost before he knew it a man seized his hand and held it while he dipped a little steel needle in a sort of liquid in a glass watch crystal, and then scratched his arm with it. He asked his guide what that was for and was told that it was vaccination, to keep him from having the smallpox. In another part of the room he saw a few women being examined. They had been allowed to come in out of the regular order so that they might not have to wait. There were very few women in the crowd. Costa passed along the alley until near the end he saw another big man standing. He asked his guide who that was, and was told: "That is the doctor. The company pays him to examine all their passengers and see if they will be allowed to enter America, for if they bring

over any who are not admissible they must not only bring them back free, but must pay a fine of $100 for each one."

By this time Costa was under the doctor's hands. He turned up his eyelids, examined his scalp, and felt of his abdomen to see if he had hernia, so the man ahead told him.

The doctor found Costa sound and he was allowed to pass on. Behind a desk sat a couple of men. One of them took Costa's ticket and stamped "Vaccinated" on it; the other took him by the wrist and stamped a little triangular mark on it, telling him that that showed that he had been through, and was all ready to start for America. Just as Costa was about to leave the room he heard the doctor say "Respinto" and saw a look of disappointment pass over the face of the man he had just examined.

"What does 'Respinto' mean?" Costa asked his friend.

"That means that the man appears to have some disease, probably trachoma, and that he must wait and have a special examination, and perhaps will not be allowed to go to America at all."

"Do many have to go back that way?" asked Costa.

"Not very many," replied his friend. "You see, the agents in the villages examine them before they send them down here, and most of those who could not be admitted to America are stopped there. The agent of this company says that they only have twelve or fifteen cases, out of a shipload of passengers, whom they will not take, and only two or three from each ship are sent back from America."

By this time Costa was outside. He went around to the warehouse, which smelt strongly of sulphur fumes, presented his slip of paper and got his valise. As he stepped outside, however, and started for the pier, he sud-

denly gave a cry of consternation, dropped his valise, and stood stock still. There was the great ship sailing down the bay! The tears sprang to his eyes. So he was left after all! Oh, why hadn't he taken pains to get around earlier? Slowly he picked up his bag and walked down towards the pier, simply because he did not know what else to do. But look! She seems to be turning around. Yes, she is, she is coming back. Costa hurried on down to the pier and, seeing some one whom he knew, he asked what the matter was. He was told that a sudden squall had come up and that the ship had pulled up one of the mooring posts, and had to put out into the bay to keep from blowing on to the other ships in the harbor. Costa was much relieved, and waited patiently until two or three hours later the ship came back inside the breakwater once more. Then he got into one of the small boats, provided by the company and flying their flag, and was carried out to the gangway of the big ship. Shouldering his valise once more he climbed up to the top. There stood a man in uniform who examined his tickets and searched his clothes for knives or firearms. The next moment he was on the deck of the ship. He followed the crowd down the narrow stairway into the body of the ship, where he was assigned a bunk. He deposited his baggage on the mattress, which was the only bedding there, and went up on deck. As he had eaten nothing since morning he was very glad when he saw a steward coming with a big pail of stew and some tin plates. After he had eaten he stood about the deck, watching the trunks and boxes being loaded and all the other fascinating sights attendant upon the departure of a big ship. One man who looked different from the Greeks and seemed to be a person of some importance,

attracted his attention. On inquiry, he learned that this was the American consul, who had come on board to see that everything was all right. At last, about nine o'clock, the big whistle blew, the big ship began to move, slowly at first and then faster and faster, and Costa realized that he was really started for America.

The first day out was very rough, and Costa spent the whole of it in his bunk, wretchedly seasick. Practically all of the other passengers around him as far he could see were in the same condition, some a little better, some worse. Costa's bunk was near the stern of the ship and it seemed to him that he was rising and falling hundreds of feet at a jump. Every once in a while there came a horrid whirring and trembling which some one told him was the propellers going out of the water. The air became vile, and the steel floors filthy. Occasionally a ship's boy came around with a pail of sawdust, but that helped little. Altogether, it was a miserable day, and Costa wished more than once that he had never heard of America.

Late in the evening, however, the ship seemed to quiet down, and before he knew it Costa was sound asleep. When he woke in the morning, the sea was as smooth as glass and the deck of the ship was as steady as the floor of the new house in his own little village. Costa found himself feeling as fine as ever, and put in the day examining the ship. He was an attractive little lad, and was allowed to go where many others would not have been. Before the day was over he had become well acquainted with one of the Greek seamen on board, who took a great fancy to the little chap and spent a good deal of his leisure time talking with him, and even allowed him to accompany him on some of his duties. Costa thus acquired many inter-

esting facts about the ship and its passengers. The ship had begun her voyage at Trieste, and there were on board 900 Slav passengers in the third class, in addition to the thousand Greeks who had got on board at Patras. The Slavs were mostly in the forward part of the ship, while the Greeks were in the rear and central portions. The few women on board were in the best part of the ship near the center. The whole available space on two of the lower decks of the ship was given up to bunks. This part of the ship was filled with a sort of scaffolding or framework of iron pipes, so constructed as to provide two tiers of sleeping places, one above the other, with just room enough for aisles so that the passengers could get to their bunks. There were no springs and the hard mattresses were laid on a sort of lattice of steel straps. Still, Costa was not used to springs and he did not mind this any. One day he took a little tape measure which he had in his pocket—one of his purchases from a push-cart man in Patras—and measured his bunk. He found that it was six feet one inch by two feet one inch. The edge of his bunk was eighteen inches above the floor. There was a space of twenty-eight inches between his bunk and the one above it, and then forty inches more up to the roof. This gave Costa plenty of room, and even the larger men were not badly crowded. The only difficulty was that each passenger had to make room in his own bunk for his baggage. Many of the men hung theirs up, tying them to the pipes of which the scaffolding was made. Every bunk in the ship was occupied, and they had even spread mattresses on some of the closed hatchways, and men were sleeping there.

On the whole, as soon as his seasickness was over, Costa

felt very comfortable and happy. He spent a good share of his time on one of the decks which were reserved for the third class passengers. Occasionally he would go and sit for a while in the "recreation room," where most of the passengers spent their time. But this was always crowded and the benches which ran alongside the long tables were always packed with men, talking and playing cards. The room was full of tobacco smoke and very noisy, and Costa did not particularly enjoy it. There were a number of the passengers who scarcely left their bunks from one day's end to another, but just lay there in a sort of stupor. Only a few took advantage of the pleasant outside decks, except on two occasions when the ship stopped in some of the Mediterranean ports for a few hours. Then everybody thronged on deck, and spent the time dancing, singing and playing games. Several of the passengers had musical instruments with them, and Costa used to love to hear them play and watch the men dance, though of course he was too young to be allowed to join in.

Costa had been unusually well trained in matters of cleanliness, for a Greek boy, and he was disgusted with the slovenly habits of some of his fellow passengers. He used to smile to himself when he heard them complaining that it was not a good ship because it smelled so bad, for even he had sense enough to know that it was largely their own fault. He did his best to keep himself clean, though there was no great opportunity to do so. But the smell of the toilet rooms was awful, and Costa dreaded to go past them, as he had to every time he went from his bunk to the deck.

Another thing that amused Costa was to hear the men complaining about the food, for he knew that the majority

A SCENE ON BOARD SHIP

of them at home lived on bread and olives and cheese. He rather smiled at himself when he thought of the little basket of food that he had brought with him, though he was glad that he had the oranges. But on the whole, the food was quite as good as he had been used to, even after the days of prosperity began. Here is his bill of fare for a week:

Monday:	Breakfast, Stew, coffee, bread
	Dinner, Pea soup, meat with potatoes
	Supper, Crackers, stock-fish with potatoes
Tuesday:	Breakfast, Cheese, coffee, bread
	Dinner, Macaroni soup, stewed peas
	Supper, Meat with potatoes, walnuts
Wednesday:	Breakfast, Prunes, tea, bread
	Dinner, Stew, olives, cheese
	Supper, Stock-fish with potatoes
Thursday:	Breakfast, Sausages, coffee, bread
	Dinner, Rice with oil, boiled meat
	Supper, Spaghetti in broth, meat with potatoes
Friday:	Breakfast, Tunny, tea, bread
	Dinner, Pastry in broth, meat with olives
	Supper, Ragout of meat with potatoes
Saturday:	Breakfast, Herrings, coffee, bread
	Dinner, Rice, meat with beans
	Supper, Macaroni in broth, meat with cabbage
Sunday:	Breakfast, Cheese, tea, bread
	Dinner, Bean soup, sardines in olive oil
	Supper, Rice with meat, tunny with potatoes

There were two good clean kitchens for the third class, one toward the bow and one toward the stern. The cooking was good, and Costa kept in first-rate health.

The voyage was in the main uneventful. Most of the men still spent their time below deck, either in the recreation room, or in their bunks. Some read, many played

cards, all talked. Those who had been in America before were besieged with questions in regard to the landing, the possibility of being rejected, the climate in America, the probable date of arrival, etc. A few who knew a little English borrowed American magazines from the first-class passengers who occasionally came down to the lower deck. Most of the men, however, spent a good share of their time lying or sitting around in a sort of semi-stupor, apparently indifferent to the length of the voyage and almost everything else except their food.

But about the tenth day out Costa found himself growing restless and impatient. The novelty of the sea had worn off and he was getting anxious to see land and most of all to reach his brothers whom he had not seen for so long. The monotony was broken for him in a way he would hardly have desired. One rather rough day he was descending one of the slippery iron stairways when the ship gave a sudden lurch. Costa lost his hold on the railing and was thrown violently to the deck beneath. The next thing he knew he found himself lying between two clean sheets in a nicely painted room, with a man in uniform bending over him, whom he recognized as the ship's doctor. He soon learned that he was in the third-class hospital, and it was so clean and nice that he almost wished that he could stay there until the end of the voyage. There were about fifteen other men in the room. Costa was told that there was another hospital just like it for the women on the other side of the ship.

His injury proved to be only a temporary one, and the next day he was on deck again as well as ever. He learned that he had missed one rather interesting occurrence. The day before, all the third-class passengers had

been made to pass in single file before the purser while their tickets were examined. Those who had been passed got a good deal of amusement poking fun at the others as they came along. One miserable stowaway had been found, half-starved, in one of the coal bunkers.

The remainder of the voyage passed without event and Costa was more than glad when early one morning his sailor friend pointed out a misty spot of something way ahead on the horizon and told him that that was America. The ship reached its dock about the middle of the afternoon. Costa, along with the other third-class passengers, was hurried onto a steam barge which lay waiting and carried across the bay to Ellis Island, about which he had heard so much from the men on the ship. The numerous iron-railed alleyways through which he had to pass reminded him of the steamship office in Patras, only everything here was so much grander and on an infinitely larger scale. He answered all the questions asked him bravely and truthfully, and in an incredibly short time found himself standing once more on the deck of a barge, on his way back to the city, which loomed so wonderful and magnificent and fascinating in the distance. His railroad ticket was pinned to his coat lapel, and he was in a group of about fifteen other Greeks, all bound for Chicago. He followed their guidance, and the next thing he knew he was in a railroad car that seemed to him immense, and was whirling away through the darkness toward the great western city where his brothers were awaiting him. Everybody had been kind to him, and while as yet everything seemed terribly confused, and his mind was in a sort of daze, he felt that America was an even better country then he had hoped for, and he was well content to be here.

PART II

THE GREEKS IN THE UNITED STATES

CHAPTER VI

Statistical Review

UP to the last decade of the nineteenth century Greek immigration into the United States was not of sufficient volume to be called a movement. (See Table 6.) Not until 1891 did the figures reach 1,000, and during the nineties they did not rise above 2,500. But with the beginning of the present century, for the reasons enumerated in the preceding pages, this current of immigration began to increase by leaps and bounds. For the three consecutive years, 1905-06-07, it approximately doubled annually, reaching in the last year the climax of 46,283. It is impossible to say how long this ratio of increase would have maintained itself had not the crisis of 1907 intervened to check it. As it was, Greek immigration for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1908, fell to 28,808, a decrease of 41 per cent from the preceding year, as compared with a decrease of 39 per cent of the total immigration to this country for that year. This slackness continued during the winter of 1908-09. But with the reviving of trade in the United States, the emigration movement took on a new lease of life and the spring of 1909 bade fair to be the liveliest in the emigration business from Greece since the inception of the movement. On the first two days of March, 1909, two ships of a certain steamship line carried from Patras 1,500 Greek emigrants bound for New York.*

* This promise was not verified for the whole year 1909, nor has the record of 1907 been quite reached even in 1910.

The figures referred to give only the number of Greek immigrants admitted to this country in the respective years. To gain an accurate idea of the number of Greeks in this country in any year it is necessary also to know the number who have returned to their homes from year to year. This, unfortunately, it is impossible to determine. Only within the last three years have the reports of the Commissioner-General of Immigration given the necessary data. The steamship companies keep no records of the number of steerage passengers whom they bring back to Greece. Even if they did, these figures would be inconclusive, for the returning Greeks come in driblets, half a dozen or a score at a time, and by a great variety of routes. They come by direct lines to Patras and the Piræus; they come by way of Naples, or across France, or through Switzerland and Italy, or even by way of Germany. It is difficult to get a steamship agent even to make an estimate of the proportion between the departing and returning emigrants. Mr. Horton's reports state that from the best sources available, not over 1,500 returns may be set down as the figure for the year 1907. The Commissioner-General's report for 1908 gives the number of departures during that year as 6,763. But this was an exceptional year. From the number of Greeks one meets in Greece who have been in the United States the number of returns must be considerable. Perhaps the ratio of one tenth of the admissions of a given year comes as near expressing the number of returns as any we could hope to get. Adopting this ratio, and applying it to the figures given in the table, the Greek population of the United States for the last ten years would be approximately as follows:

1900	8,655
1901	13,983
1902	21,287
1903	34,226
1904	45,589
1905	56,519
1906	77,334
1907	118,989
1908	141,034
1909	154,359
1910	184,907

The tendency for Greeks is usually to over-estimate the number of their countrymen in the United States. As much as two years ago, some said 150,000; others put the figure at 200,000 or even 300,000. An interesting basis of comparison may be found in two books, to which we will have frequent occasion to refer. They are the Thermopylæ Almanac, 1904, by John Booras, and the Greek-American Guide, 1909, by S. G. Canoutas, both printed in Greek and published in New York City. They contain a variety of information, statistical and otherwise, of interest to the actual or prospective Greek resident of the United States. The former volume (see Table 8) gives the Greek population of the United States for the year 1904 as 67,241. Of these, 43,609 (through a mistake in addition the figure in the book is 43,241) are assigned to various cities and states. The balance are said to be working on various railroads and in factories. This balance is doubtless much over-estimated. Cutting it down radically will bring this estimate within the neighborhood of the figure given above. The Greek-American Guide (page 25) estimates the number of Greeks in the United States at 150,000, but in a short article in English on a later page (page 357) among other shocking inaccuracies the statement is made that

"the total number of Greeks throughout the United States is conservatively estimated at a quarter of a million." It is only justice to say that this short English article is the only part of the book that contains such glaring absurdities. The rest of the volume appears to be carefully compiled and soberly written. For the year 1909, 150,000 would probably come very near to the number of Greeks in the United States.

Tables 9, 10, 11 and 12 give a sort of statistical picture of the condition of Greek immigrants on their arrival in America, from the point of view of the immigration authorities. Several striking features attract the attention at once. Perhaps the most remarkable of these is the very high proportion of males, ranging with surprising constancy around 96 per cent. This means that Greek immigration is not in any sense an immigration of families, but almost entirely of unmarried men, or of men of family who have left their wives on the other side. There is no means of determining how these two classes compare in numbers, but it is probable that they are approximately equal. This high proportion of males is a very important fact, and is accountable for many of the unfortunate conditions that affect Greek society in this country. There is a slight improvement in this respect in the last three years, though the decrease may be partly due to the industrial situation in this country. Greek women who come to America, come for the most part to join husbands who have established themselves in business on this side. Hence their movements are not so much affected by depressed industrial conditions as those of the men whose living is dependent on their finding work. For purposes of comparison, the following percentages are given for some of

IMMIGRANTS ON BOARD (THE MAN WITH THE LONG OVERCOAT HAS BEEN IN THE UNITED STATES THREE YEARS)

the other leading races of immigrants, chosen from the year 1907 in preference to 1908, as being a more normal year.

PERCENTAGE OF MALES, 1907.

Germans	60.4
Hebrews	53.9
Italians (north)	79.4
Italians (south)	78.7
Scandinavians	63.9
Bulgarians, Servians, Montenegrins	97.2

From these figures, and similar ones not quoted for other races, it is evident that while all the more recently immigrating races show a considerable preponderance of males, there is none of the leading peoples that even approaches the Greeks in this respect with the exception of the Bulgarians, Servians and Montenegrins, by whom they are exceeded.

Another striking fact about the Greek immigrants, in which, however, they resemble other recently immigrating races, is the very large proportion in the middle age groups, between fourteen and forty-five. This includes nearly the entire body of Greeks. Of the small remainder, the greater part are children under fourteen years of age. Their number averaged a little less than 10 per cent of the total, until 1903, when there was a sudden decrease. This is a decidedly large proportion of children when we consider that there is practically no family emigration. They are for the most part boys imported under the padrone system (see page 172) and the sharp decline in 1904 probably represents the strenuous efforts of the government officials to check this practice. Greek immi-

grants of forty-five and over are a negligible quantity. Like the sex distribution, the age distribution has an important bearing on several phases of Greek life in this country.

Whether the literacy or illiteracy of a group of immigrants is a matter of importance or not depends on one's conception of the function of the immigrant in this country. If we adopt the idea, which is probably the prevailing one in the United States, that the business of the immigrant is to do the hard and menial work of the country which is beneath the dignity of a native American, then perhaps the more dull, stolid and devoid of ambition or culture the foreigners are, the better it will be, provided only they have sturdy bodies and humble spirits. In fact, under our present system—or lack of system—of handling the immigrants, the class of aliens which has the hardest time to get along comprises those of a moderate education, clerks, bookkeepers, mediocre musicians and the like, who are unable or unwilling to do the hard work of the country, and are unable to meet the competition of native Americans in the lines of occupation to which they have been trained in foreign countries. But if we hope to make true American citizens of the newcomers, to imbue them with the ideals and spirit of this country, to fit them to take an active place in the higher and varied departments of our national life, it cannot be denied that those who have had the ability, the energy and the opportunity to secure a moderate amount of education in their home land make better material for our purposes than the opposite class. At least, the degree of illiteracy of a people is usually taken as an indication of their intellectual quality, and often of their desirability

as citizens, and for this reason it may be of profit to make some comparisons in this respect between the Greeks and a few other typical nationalities. A glance at Table 9 will show that in 1900 the percentage of Greek immigrants who could neither read nor write was about 15.3. In the next year it suddenly sprang to 23.6, the following year to 27.4, when it fell off again and remained in the neighborhood of 23 until 1907 when there was another sudden rise to 30.0 and in 1908, 27.6. Comparing this with five of the other leading races, we find that the total percentage of illiteracy for all the immigrants of those nationalities, for the years 1900-08 inclusive, was as follows: Germans, 4.2 per cent; Hebrews, 19.4 per cent; North Italians, 10.4 per cent; South Italians, 49.7 per cent; Scandinavians, 0.4 per cent. It is thus evident that while the Greeks are much superior to the South Italians, they are decidedly inferior to the northern races, and to the Hebrews. We are inclined to believe that there was a good deal of truth in the statement of the old Greek that the compulsory education law in Greece is "not always applied."

Mr. Prescott F. Hall in his book on "Immigration" gives a good deal of space to the discussion of the illiteracy test as a proposed measure of legislation. Whether or not such a restriction is desirable is, as we have inferred above, largely a matter of individual opinion. There can be no doubt that it would have considerable effectiveness in cutting down the mere bulk of immigration, if that is an end to be sought.

The matter of the amount of money shown is of comparatively small importance. Immigrants as a rule show only so much money as they think is necessary to get them

through. Table 10 is presented only as a matter of incidental interest, and not as furnishing any particular criterion of the financial status of Greek immigrants on their arrival.

The figures showing the number of immigrants who have been in the United States before are of much greater interest. If the ratio of returns which we have adopted above (see page 110) is correct, it becomes evident that the number of Greeks who return to their native land to remain permanently is very small indeed.

Table 11 gives the number of Greek immigrants debarred, with the reasons therefor, the number relieved in the hospital, and the number returned after one, two or three years under the various provisions of the law. We see that the per cent of debarred for the nine years ranges between the minimum of 1.0 per cent in 1902, and 4.3 per cent in the succeeding year. Comparing these percentages with the per cent of the total immigration debarred, given in the same table, we see that the percentage of Greeks debarred is much above the average—from two to five times as great. If we compare them with the five nationalities which have been chosen as a basis of comparison, we find them considerably inferior to each, even to the South Italians. The percentages of debarred for these nationalities for the nine-year period, 1900-1908, are as follows: Germans, 0.7 per cent; Hebrews, 0.9 per cent; North Italians, 0.5 per cent; South Italians, 1.3 per cent; Scandinavians, 0.2 per cent. The principal causes of debarment for the Greeks were pauperism or likelihood to become a public charge, loathsome or dangerous contagious diseases, and contract labor, the first class being the most important for all the years of

the span except 1906, when it was surpassed by contract labor.

As far as the evidence of these statistics goes there seems to have been a steady decline in the quality of Greek immigration during the nine years in question. This is what might be expected from the considerations discussed on page 86.

This indication is sustained by the figures for the general classification by industries, which are given in Table 12. Here there is an almost steady increase in the proportion of unskilled, from 66 per cent in 1900 to 91 per cent in 1907, with a slight drop to 87 per cent in 1908. The proportion of laborers has steadily gained over the farm laborers. It seems probable, however, that this should be taken as an indication that the Greeks are learning to answer these questions with reference to the work they expect to do in this country, rather than that there is any difference in the sources from which they come. Greek immigrants still come almost entirely from the peasant or agricultural class.

The Greeks are a decidedly gregarious and clannish lot, and tend to herd together. This fact, in connection with their occupations, tends to lead them into city life. According to the census of 1900, out of the 8,564 Greeks in continental United States, 6,340, or 74.2 per cent, were in cities of 25,000 or over. This is a much larger proportion than for the total foreign-born in this country, of whom 47.3 per cent were in cities of 25,000 or over in 1900. It is also a larger percentage than for any single one of the leading foreign-born nationalities, the nearest approach to it being in the case of those born in Russia (mostly Jews), of whom 73.4 per cent were in cities of

the specified size. Over half of the Greeks in the United States in 1900 (4,770) were in seven cities, Boston, Chicago, Lowell, New York, Philadelphia, San Francisco and Savannah, and nearly half (4,005) in the three cities of Chicago, Lowell and New York. This concentration is not so marked at present.

On the other hand, also, the Greeks do not tend to stagnate in the Atlantic coast states as much as some of the other nationalities, particularly the Italians. Chicago has always been one of the most important Greek settlements. Now they are becoming scattered throughout the cities in all the states of the Union, and individuals are continually breaking away from the group and settling in the smaller cities and towns, so that today it is almost the exception to find even a small town that does not have its representatives of this race. We have estimated (see page 111) that in 1904 there were 45,589 Greeks in this country. Of these, according to Table 8, compiled from the Thermopylæ Almanac, 43,607 were in 276 cities in forty-nine states and territories. As remarked above, these figures are probably all somewhat exaggerated, but they are as near accurate as we could hope to get. Table 13, copied from the Greek-American Guide for 1909, gives the number of Greeks in the principal cities of the United States. (G.-A. Guide, page 359.)

On account of the fact already mentioned, that practically every Greek immigrant knows, before he starts, just what place in America he is going to, the statistics in regard to the destination of Greek immigrants are more varied and at the same time more reliable than those for many other nationalities. They are presented in Table 14. The interesting thing about these figures is the way

in which the immigration to several of the states, such as New Hampshire and Wisconsin, started only a few years ago with practically nothing, and has grown to a very considerable stream. This shows the effects of the "chain-letter" system, particularly in the case of New Hampshire, where the Greeks are very largely congregated in the one city of Manchester.

From the foregoing statistical study it appears that the Greeks are remarkable in several respects, namely, in the high proportion of males, reaching almost 100 per cent; in the very large proportion in the middle age groups; in the number of boys under fourteen; in the percentage debarred and in the decided tendency to city life. All of these factors have an important bearing on their economic and social condition in this country, to the study of which we now proceed.

CHAPTER VII

Greek Colonies in the United States

BEFORE undertaking the discussion of the life of the Greeks in the United States, it will be helpful to give a brief description of what is known as the "Greek Orthodox Community." The extreme loyalty of the modern Greek to the formal worship of the national church has already been noticed. As soon as a few Greeks get together in some city or town in this country, one of the first things that they think of is the establishment of a place of worship. This is accomplished by the organization of an orthodox community, which is not usually undertaken until the number of Greeks in the locality reaches 300 or 400. This community is organized as a society and usually embraces practically all of the Greeks in the locality. It has its officers, president, secretary, treasurer, etc., and various committees. The dues are sometimes regular and sometimes voluntary. While the primary purposes of this organization are religious, such as the securing and support of a priest, and the maintenance of a place of worship, it also serves various social and fraternal ends. To avoid confusion, the word "community" hereafter will be used to designate such an organization, while a mere aggregation of a number of Greeks in any locality will be termed a "colony." Owing to the prevalence of these communities, combined with the general clannishness of the Greeks, it is possible to get very accurate and detailed data along certain lines, regarding the

Greeks in this country. The presidents and secretaries of these organizations are usually well informed as to the number and occupations of the members of their communities, and the information which they will furnish in regard to these points is more accurate than the investigator could hope to obtain in any other way. In regard to certain other classes of information, however, their statements must be taken with a good deal of caution, for as a rule they are unwilling to make any statements which will tend to cast discredit on their countrymen. Some of these communities are incorporated under state laws.

Within the last two or three years, as a result of the efforts of the Greek ambassador, Mr. Coromilas, there has been organized a national community, called the Pan-Hellenic Union, combining, or supposed to combine, all the societies in the United States. Among the purposes of this organization as stated in its constitution are the following: the defense of Greek interests and rights among foreign nations, the "establishment of Phil-Hellenism in America"(!), and the teaching of all Greeks how to respect the laws and constitution of the United States and to learn lessons from this great country and bring benefit to themselves. It is said that half the dues collected by this organization are to be used in helping Greek immigrants to get started in this country and the other half in assisting the oppressed Greeks in Macedonia. This national organization has by no means met with the unanimous approval of the Greeks of this country, partly because they regard it as an infringement on that personal liberty which they regard as an essential of American life, and partly because the ambassador is not held in the highest esteem by some of the most intelligent citi-

zens of that country which, as one of them said, "he is misrepresenting in Washington."

In taking up the study of Greek life in this country we will adopt the plan of giving first a brief description of some of the most important and characteristic Greek-American colonies, and then proceeding to a more general discussion of the various phases of the topic from a national point of view.

The two most characteristic colonies are those of Chicago and Lowell, the former representing the predominant class of settlements where the Greeks are mainly established in independent business, the latter that smaller class, to which such other cities as Lynn, Salem, Haverhill and Fall River, Massachusetts, and Nashua and Manchester, New Hampshire, belong, where the majority of the Greeks are employed in large manufacturing establishments under the direction of Americans. The colony of New York, while larger than either of these, is less compact and localized, and holds a less prominent place in the organization of the city.

The Greek Colony of Chicago.

Five years ago if a visitor to Chicago had alighted from a Blue Island Avenue street car at Polk Street, and had wandered around the neighborhood, along these two streets and South Halsted and Ewing Streets, he might almost have imagined that he was in Italy. The stores, the houses, the people, the sights and sounds all would have suggested a distinctly Italian character. Within the space of five years, an ethnic revolution has been worked in this district, until today it is just as distinctively Greek. Here, in the section of which Hull

House is the social center, are gathered the greater part of the 15,000 Greeks who call Chicago their home.*

Taking all things into consideration, Chicago is probably the oldest and most important Greek colony in the United States. Here, too, the Greeks have developed their characteristic industries to the fullest extent. Yet the Greek invasion of Chicago is comparatively a recent thing. In 1882 there were very few Greeks in the city, not enough to have a community of their own. But they united with the Slavs to form the "Græco Slavic Brotherhood," and secured a Greek priest.† For the next eighteen years the colony grew very slowly, and in 1900, according to the census figures, there were only 1,493 Greeks in the city. But with the increase in Greek immigration which marked the beginning of the present century, the Greek population of Chicago augmented rapidly. In 1904 there were 7,500 Greeks in the city, and in 1909 about 15,000, of whom 12,000 may be considered permanent residents, and the balance transients, who come and go, according as they may have work in the city or on the railroad lines in the states further west.

As the Greeks became more numerous they began to do what they do in almost every city where they form considerable settlements,—they invaded the Italian section and drove the Italians out of their homes and out of their businesses. The district which has been mentioned, around Blue Island Avenue and Polk and South Halsted Streets, is today more typically Greek than some sections of Athens. Practically all the stores bear signs in both Greek and English, coffee-houses flourish on every corner,

* Hull House Maps.

† G.-A. Guide, p. 199.

in the dark little grocery stores one sees black olives, dried ink-fish, tomato paste, and all the queer, nameless roots and condiments which are so familiar in Greece. On every hand one hears the Greek language, and the boys in the streets and on the vacant lots play, with equal zest, Greek games and baseball. It is a self-sufficing colony, and provision is made to supply all the wants of the Greek immigrant in as near as possible the Greek way. Restaurants, coffee-houses, barber-shops, grocery stores and saloons are all patterned after the Greek type, and Greek doctors, lawyers, editors and every variety of agent are to be found in abundance. As an indication of how thoroughly Hellenized this district is, the following list of Greek business establishments is given, all found on Blue Island Avenue in the one block between Polk and Ewing Streets, and the two short blocks between Polk Street and Gurley Street:

Meat market and grocery,
Coffee-house,
Labor agency,
Importers and steamship and railroad ticket agents,
Harness maker,
Tailor,
Barber-shop,
Row of two-story tenements,
Shoemaker,
Harness maker,
Drug store,
Candy and tobacco store, and pool hall,
Cognac store,
Restaurant, grocery and saloon,
Grocery,
Barber-shop,
Bakery,

Coffee-house,
Grocery,
Tobacco store,
Coffee-house,
General store,
Candy kitchen,
Coffee-house.

All of these are distinctively Greek, and of the few remaining business houses in these blocks several others are probably Greek.

The contrast between the Greek section and the Italian quarter by which it is bordered is very marked. The latter is much more crowded, dirty and noisy. Saloons of a very disreputable appearance take the place of the coffee-houses. Here, too, children are much more in evidence. In the Greek section, for an hour or so after six o'clock, the streets present a very lively appearance, as the drivers and peddlers come home, unhitch their horses and put them in the stables. But after this is over the settlement quiets down and the side streets present an almost deserted appearance. Outside of the coffee-houses, the Greeks have very few recreations. Theaters, concerts, athletic sports, dance halls and the like play a very small part in their lives. A few—about seventy-five in 1908—join the Young Men's Christian Association, principally for the athletic advantages, particularly wrestling, of which they are very fond.

Of the 15,000 Greeks in the city only about 700 or 800 are women. There are consequently very few families, and not many children, probably 200 or so. This gives an unnatural character to the colony, as the great majority of the men have to live by themselves or in small groups,

and either get their own meals or procure them at a restaurant. Very few of the Greeks have married American girls.

The existence of a separate Greek community dates from the year 1891. It is now incorporated under the laws of Illinois, and has about 4,000 regular members. But in a sense practically all the Greeks in the city are connected with it, for they all belong to one or another of the twenty smaller societies which are affiliated with the community. The purposes of these smaller organizations, of which the richest and most powerful is the fruit and candy dealers, are benevolent, fraternal and patriotic. They give lectures about once a month to educate their members in good citizenship. Every Greek in the city is at liberty to join the community, but there is a fixed membership fee of $2. According to the statement of the secretary of the community, any Greek who commits a crime is expelled from the society to which he belongs, and is denied admission to any other.

This community maintains an Orthodox Greek church, with two priests, both well educated and holding the degree of Bachelor of Divinity from the University of Athens. They have a small regular salary, but are largely supported by special fees, such as a fee of $25 to $50 for performing a marriage ceremony. The church building is located at 34 Johnson Street. It is a brick edifice with a main room about seventy-five feet by thirty-six feet. In accordance with the Greek custom there is no provision for seating the worshipers. On the whole, the decorations and fittings of the interior present a rather poor and shabby appearance for a Greek church. There is another Greek church at 1927 State Street, but its priest got into

some difficulty with the religious authorities at home and it is not now recognized by the Orthodox church. It is said that the community has recently purchased a good building site on Polk Street for a church and school, at a cost of $40,000, most of which has been paid.

One of the first businesses to be developed by Greeks in Chicago was the bootblacking industry. This is organized under the padrone system, for a description of which see page 172, and has attained considerable proportions until now the Greeks hold a practical monopoly of this business in the city. In 1904 there were but three shoeshine parlors in the hands of Greeks in the city. Now there are nearly fifty. But the line in which the Greeks have made their greatest success is the fruit stores, candy kitchens and ice cream parlors. The business of the city along these lines is also almost entirely in their hands. In 1904 there were five fruit stores and 237 candy kitchens, several having two or more branches. In 1908 there were about 275 fruit, candy and ice cream dealers, several having more than one store, besides eleven wholesale fruit dealers and eight ice cream manufacturers. Flower selling is sometimes combined with these businesses, and sometimes carried on separately. There were twelve flower stores in 1904 and the same number in 1908. The third main line of business which occupies the attention of the Greeks is the management of hotels and restaurants. These are of two kinds—those catering to the Greek trade and hence conducted on the Greek plan, and those patterned after American establishments. Of both kinds there were in 1904 seventy-six establishments, and in 1908, 252. As each of these establishments employs four or five helpers it is evident that nearly half the Greek popula-

tion of the city is engaged in these specialized occupations. Aside from these fixed establishments there are about 2,000 itinerant fruit peddlers. Some of these are said to make as much as $10 or $15 a day.

The other principal places of business conducted by Greeks in 1908 were the following: thirty-six barber-shops, eleven bakeries, twenty-two coffee-houses, eight dry goods stores, thirty-one groceries, six cigar and cigarette manufactories, nine carpenters, six painters, seven moving picture establishments, four printers, five tailors, thirteen pool rooms, six hay and feed stores, four milk dealers, six harness makers and shoemakers, three underwear manufacturers, and two laundries. There are four newspapers published in Greek in Chicago, all weekly, *The Greek Star*, *Athena*, *Hellas*, and *Loxias*. There are nine Greek physicians and surgeons, three lawyers, one druggist, three brokers' offices, two teachers and three poets!

We have thus far accounted for perhaps two thirds of the Greek population of Chicago. Of the remaining 5,000, probably about 2,000 are employed in Chicago as day laborers, builders, etc., or in the factories and packing plants and the other 3,000 are transients, finding employment from time to time on the railroads of the Middle West, for which Chicago is the great labor market.

To give an idea of the criminal tendencies of the Greeks in Chicago, the following table has been compiled from the police records of the city. Such other foreign nationalities as have exceeded the Greeks in total number of offenses are also included:

SUMMARY OF OFFENSES AND NATIVITIES IN CHICAGO.

1905.

	Felonies	State Misdemeanors	Violations of City Ordinances	Total
Greeks	121	142	1,090	1,353
Germans	630	593	3,912	5,135
Italians	277	378	1,309	1,964
Irish	225	281	2,526	3,032
Polanders	547	468	3,027	4,042
Russians	271	212	1,757	2,240
Swedes	121	110	1,148	1,379

1906.

Greeks	148	185	1,084	1,417
Germans	684	815	4,449	5,948
Italians	306	337	1,420	2,063
Irish	260	344	2,801	3,405
Polanders	625	664	3,853	5,142
Russians	295	280	2,168	2,743
Swedes	152	149	1,347	1,648

1907.

Greeks	112	132	737	981
Bohemians	138	222	749	1,109
Germans	586	629	3,078	4,293
Italians	255	379	982	1,616
Irish	195	245	1,965	2,405
Polanders	680	907	3,369	4,956
Russians	340	430	1,310	2,080
Swedes	119	126	1,035	1,280

These figures for the other nationalities are of rather slight value, as in the absence of information in regard to their number in Chicago in the different years, it is impossible to determine the ratio between offenses and total population, which is the only just basis of comparison. In the case of the Greeks we can make a fairly accurate

estimate of the number of inhabitants in the city in each of the three years. In 1904 the Greek population of Chicago was about 7,500 and in 1908 about 15,000. Then if the rate of increase was fairly even, the total number in 1905 would be about 9,000, in 1906 it would be about 10,750, and in 1907 about 12,750. Reckoning on the basis of these figures, in 1905 there was, on the average, one violation of law for every seven Greeks in the city: in 1906 two offenses for every fifteen Greeks, and in 1907 one offense for every thirteen Greeks. This shows a marked improvement in the matter of criminal tendencies, though the fact that each one of the nationalities given in the preceding part of the table shows a corresponding change, less marked but in the same direction, suggests that perhaps this apparent amelioration may be in part due to a change in the city administration as well as to an improvement in the character of the population.

A glance at the table shows that the great majority of offenses among the Greeks, as in a less degree among the other nationalities, are violations of city ordinances, among which disorderly conduct ranks easily first; this class of offense, together with the offense of being an inmate of a gambling house, makes up considerably more than half of the violations of city ordinances. The more serious crimes are comparatively rare among the Greeks. Among the felonies, the principal crimes committed by Greeks are larceny and larceny by bailee, robbery or burglary, and assault with intent to commit murder. Among the state misdemeanors the leading crimes are assault, assault with deadly weapons, and carrying concealed weapons.

There has been a great deal of suspicion in regard to

the bootblacking parlors and other Greek establishments that boys were being employed under the legal age and worked beyond the legal number of hours. Efforts have been made to determine the extent of this evil and to correct any abuses, and a few convictions have been made (see page 185) but owing to the difficulty of getting testimony not much has been accomplished. I was told at the office of the factory inspector that they found very few violators of the factory laws among the Greeks. The chief probation officer of the Juvenile Court reported that he had very few cases of delinquent Greek children. There was one delinquent boy in 1906 and four in 1907.

In February, 1907, a great deal of indignation was aroused against the Greeks of Chicago on account of the alleged abuse of young girls in the ice cream parlors and fruit stores kept by them. The matter was thoroughly agitated by the newspapers, and some arrests were made. The most notable case was that of Frank Econamac, who was convicted and sentenced to fifteen years in the penitentiary. In many cases when an arrest was made for an offense of this kind, the complainants failed to appear, the supposition being that they had been bought off in the meantime. One of the principal accusers was the restaurant inspector. In the course of his duties he had to inspect the rear and basement rooms of the candy, fruit and ice cream establishments, and he stated that in almost every case he found evidences of the prevalence of systematic abuse of young girls. (See *Chicago Daily Journal*, February 20, 1907, and *Chicago Chronicle*, February 19 and 26, 1907.) The Greeks claim that much injustice is done their race in this respect, that persons of other nationalities are reported as Greeks, and that a

single offense of this kind is made the basis of a wholesale condemnation of the race. There is probably a good deal of truth in this assertion. Yet the secretary of one of the societies whose business it is to investigate just such cases as this, told me personally that in his opinion the Greeks were very culpable in this respect, and that evil practices of this sort were characteristic of most of the fruit and ice cream stores kept by them.

When we turn to the matter of dependence we find a much more pleasing and creditable state of affairs. The evidence in this department is almost wholly negative. The Juvenile Court had no cases of dependent Greek children during the years 1906 and 1907. The main office of the Chicago Bureau of Charities reported that they did not remember a single case of Greek applicants. The West Side District of the Bureau (in the Greek neighborhood) has had only two or three cases of Greeks, and the Central District none, except an occasional lodging house case. The superintendent of the Municipal Lodging House stated: "I will say that we have had very few Greeks at the Lodging House since it was opened, about seven years ago. . . . . Since the depression began (1907) we have given, to July 1, 11,818 lodgings to as many different men. I do not believe there were a dozen Greeks among them." The Orthodox Community, out of abundant funds, spent in 1907 only $495.15 for relief, and up to the end of August had spent in 1908 about $900. Greeks have a native pride which deters them from seeking public assistance. Those in Chicago are practically all self-supporting or have some private means of support, and if for any reason they fall into need, their friends as a rule look after them.

Greek men in Chicago are said to enjoy good health, but the life, or the climate, or the combination of the two is said to be very hard on the women, causing them to suffer a general decline.

The Greek Colony of Lowell.

Lowell, Massachusetts, is a decidedly cosmopolitan city. Only about 50 per cent of its 100,000 population are English-speaking. Of the balance 25,000 to 30,000 are French and French Canadians, 3,000 Swedes, several hundred Norwegians, 2,200 Portuguese, 7,000 to 9,000 Greeks, 2,500 Jews, 200 Armenians, and a great mixture of Russians, Germans, Austrians, Belgians, etc. These have come almost entirely within the last twenty-five years.*

The number of Greeks in this motley assemblage has been variously estimated at from 7,000 to 10,000. Probably the higher number is nearer the correct one. Of these about 7,000 are men and boys over fourteen years of age, 2,000 are women and girls over fourteen, and 500 or so are children under fourteen. These have all come within the last fifteen years. In 1900 there were about 1,800 Greeks in the city, of whom fifty were women. There were about thirty families, and nearly 350 persons under twenty-one years of age. The census of 1905 gives 1,694 Greek males and 326 females, a total of 2,020.†

The great majority of the Greeks of Lowell come from Mani or Laconia. This is the mountainous central and western peninsula of Greece, rocky and barren in the extreme. It takes no wizard to say why the population

* George F. Kenngott, Housing Conditions in Lowell.

† Do.

has emigrated from there, for the figure of the peasant "wringing a scant subsistence from the reluctant soil" is sternly literal here. Only by the most careful terracing can olive trees be made to grow on the hillsides, and this is the only district of the Peloponnesus where the vine is not cultivated. The inhabitants of this region claim to be the purest blooded descendants of the ancients of any of the modern Greeks, and pride themselves on their language and independent spirit. Unfortunately they still maintain bloody vendettas. At any time, without the slightest warning, a little village is likely to be disturbed by a volley of revolver shots. Everybody rushes indoors, barricades the houses, and remains within for a day or so until the excitement is over. Among the other Greeks, and the foreigners living in the kingdom, the Laconians have the reputation of being a rather reckless and turbulent lot. Such then is the source of the main body of the Greek population in Lowell. But there are now representatives from almost every part of the Greek world. Recently, Macedonians have been coming in large numbers.

The Greek colony of Lowell is probably the most exclusive and distinctively Greek settlement, of any considerable size, in the United States. It centers around a stretch of Market Street about a quarter of a mile long, a district of old two- and three-story wooden buildings, many of them apparently contemporaneous with the founding of the city. In this quarter practically every store is a Greek one and every dwelling house is inhabited by Greeks. As in Chicago, if anything still more so here, the conditions of Greek life are reproduced with the greatest fidelity possible. There are the same queer little grocery stores,

the same dingy restaurants, the same close, smoky coffee-houses, with here, as in Greece, at all hours of the day, a crowd of big, lazy, able-bodied men, loafing, smoking and playing cards, while some poor child toils eight or ten hours a day to support them. The self-sufficient nature of this colony will be evidenced by the following list of Greek business houses and business and professional men: seven restaurants, twenty coffee-houses, twelve barber-shops, two drug stores, six fruit stores, eight shoe-shine parlors, one dry goods store, four ticket agencies, seven bakeries, four candy stores, twenty-two grocery stores, five coal and wood dealers, eight truckmen, one pool room, one flavoring extract factory, one wholesale meat dealer, four physicians, one Orthodox priest, two Protestant ministers, three milkmen, five farms (owned in partnerships of four or five men to each farm), two hundred farm laborers, ten real estate owners, one real estate broker, two bankers, three teachers. The large number of coffee-houses is an impressive witness of the transplantation of Greek customs to this country.

The living conditions among the Greeks of Lowell have been so admirably described by Mr. Kenngott in the article already referred to that I can do no better than to quote a number of paragraphs verbatim from that work. The author speaks of the old paternal system of caring for the employees which used to be in vogue among the great corporations, but which has now been largely discarded with the result that rents and prices have gone up, causing several families to crowd into houses and apartments occupied, a few years ago, by one family. A few of the corporations still own boarding houses which are kept in good sanitary condition and rented to their employees at low

rates. But the tenements owned by real estate agents are often kept in inferior condition, while the rents are two or three times as high. The author then goes on to say:

"The worst housing conditions are among the Greeks and Syrians. . . . . The Greeks live largely in the center of the city in very old wooden buildings. The largest tenement block in the Greek colony is at the corner of Market and Jefferson Streets. It contains forty rooms with seventy-nine inhabitants. There are nine tenements in the block. This building is new with modern accommodations, such as bath-rooms, porcelain bathtubs, set bowls and tubs; and two tenements have furnace heat. There are back verandas for drying clothes. Some of the kitchens have no windows. There is another large block at the corner of Market and Suffolk Streets, towards Merrimack Street. On the street floor there are several stores with a pharmacy at the corner. This block consists of sixty-six rooms with eighty-eight inhabitants in the block. There are sixteen rooms having no windows. In the back yard there are ropes running from wall to wall for the drying of clothes. Each tenement has running water for drinking purposes, for washing and for water-closet.

"There are many other blocks, probably old as the city itself, which are in very miserable condition. Only by a personal visit can one understand the housing conditions of some of the Greeks and Syrians.

"In the old wooden buildings they are crowded in close and narrow quarters, with three or more in a room, little or no ventilation, rooms often dark without windows, no facilities for bathing, no opportunity for drying clothes except in the crowded kitchen and with toilet facilities which are extremely bad.

"Many of the Greeks live almost like an army on the march, having a common commissariat and living in poverty, filth and disease. This is due, in large part, to the fact that in this population of nearly 9,000, 6,500 are men and boys over fourteen years of age. A physician was called recently to attend a Greek woman who was sick (and) found her lying on a cot, with four men stretched out asleep on the floor. I have frequently seen five and six crowded in one room where there was sickness, and scores coming in to give their condolence.* Worse conditions can hardly be imagined than in certain old wooden tenement houses in the Greek district. 'Bathtubs and bathrooms are unknown to the Greeks, in this section.' (Rev. Panos Ginieris.) There are no public baths and no bathhouses along the Merrimack River in the city."

No careful inspections of tenement buildings are made in Lowell. "Some of the old buildings in this section should be condemned, or radical changes made at once."

"As one goes about the city as physician or clergyman, he finds that the poorer and more ignorant the people are, the more they crowd together in the center of the city. . . . . Ordinarily, there are more abuses of this kind when people first come to a place and there are few men having their wives with them. Under these conditions their natural instinct for a home and all it implies is put aside. With this lack of home restraint and the influence of the women, there follow the overcrowding of the men, a tendency to slovenliness in the care of the apartments and many social vices. These people, who have been brought up in foreign countries, have little knowledge of how to live in a sanitary

* A national custom. A sick room is usually the scene of a continuous procession of relatives and friends.

way. This may be due partly to the customs of their own countries, partly to thriftlessness, and again to the fact that in Lowell there are many who have come from the farming districts, many spending the greater part of their lives in the open air with their herds.

"The Greeks have been and still are to some extent inclined to overcrowd, and many of them are inclined to be unsanitary, more particularly in using their hallways and cellars for urinals. Now that they are marrying and establishing homes, their houses are being kept in better condition, but still do not have as large tenements as they should for the number of people that occupy them. . . . . Some of the Greeks who have been here longest have established homes in the suburbs, have invested in real estate, and have neat and attractive homes. The Greeks promise to make a helpful addition to the city's population."

There are said to be six Greeks in Lowell who have American wives, fourteen with French wives and four with Polish wives. While there is an unusually large proportion of females among the Greeks of Lowell, they are not by any means all wives. Many of them are factory hands, and many are young girls.

Lowell is preëminently a manufacturing city, and the great majority of the foreign peoples who contribute to its population are employed in the various mills and factories. To this rule the Greeks are no exception. In no other city in the country are there so many Greeks employed in factory occupations as here. Following is a statement of the total number of employees in some of the principal manufacturing establishments with the number of Greeks among them, based partly on Mr. Kenngott's figures and partly on personal inquiries.

Factory	Total Employees	Greek Employees Male*	Female	Total
Trenton-Suffolk Mills, cotton goods	2,600	425	75	500
Lawrence Mills, knit goods	4,000	400	50	450
Merrimack Mfg. Co., cotton goods	3,000	500	68	568
Massachusetts Cotton Mills	2,232			268
Hamilton Mfg. Co.	2,055			118
Bigelow Carpet Co.	2,050			71
Spaulding & Swett Co., slippers	350			200
Federal Shoe Co	505			33
Newport Shoe Co.	188			16

The average weekly wage in these mills is about $9. Some of the unskilled workers earn only $6 or $7 per week, while some of the skilled workers earn as high as $15. The Greeks are mainly employed in unskilled labor, in the dye-house, or in tending machines, such as the spinning, weaving and carding machines. They do not display any particular mechanical ability, and very few of them have as yet advanced to positions of responsibility, such as overseers or foremen. As workers, they rank about on a level with the other nationalities among which they work. They hold to their positions with a fair degree of steadiness, though the offer of a slight increase of wages elsewhere is very likely to cause them to move. When they leave a position it is usually of their own volition; they are seldom discharged. They are amenable to discipline and practically never cause any trouble through drunkenness.

The two great complaints which mill agents make against the Greeks are such as we might expect from our knowledge of two of their principal characteristics—factiousness, and fondness for exploiting each other. Mill agents testify that their Greek employees are very apt to form into small groups or cliques, and while there is seldom

* Some of these figures, especially in regard to sex, are estimates.

any friction between the Greeks and workers of other races, these little cliques are constantly getting into altercations with each other, which often result in violence and bloodshed. It is impossible for the employers to get at the true cause of the difference and sometimes the whole lot has to be discharged. Greeks who have just come to the city usually secure employment through the agency of some of their friends who have been here longer. This is the only feasible way of getting the newcomer and the employer together, but it often leads to abuses. Some Greek who has been in this country for a short time, and has learned a few words of English, gets hold of a green immigrant and tells him that if he will pay him $5 or $10 (the amount varying with the gullibility of the victim) he will secure him a job in the mill where he himself is employed. The transaction takes place, and the next day the older resident takes the newcomer around to the mill and tells the foreman that here is a man who wants a job, and if the mill is needing workers he is taken on. The mill agents do all in their power to discourage this practice, and if any Greek is discovered engaging in it, he and his whole crowd are dismissed. The trouble is that when a man has secured a position in this way he thinks that because he has paid for it, he owns it, and if he is discharged for inefficiency or for any other reason he thinks that an injustice has been done him. One mill agent told me that the greatest benefit that could be conferred on a crowd of incoming Greeks would be to impress them thoroughly with the idea that they need not pay anybody a cent for a job.

The factious spirit of the Greeks is especially in evidence in Lowell. It crops out on every hand, and Greeks are constantly coming into court with dissensions, which defy

GREEK ORTHODOX CHURCH, LOWELL

the judges and lawyers to get at the real root of the difficulty, or arrive at a just solution. As usual, this spirit has manifested itself particularly in regard to the affairs of the church. The Orthodox Community was organized about 1893. A few years ago it was decided to erect a fine new church building. The president of the community at that time was a well-educated Greek of fine manners who had attained quite a high position in Lowell society. When it came to the choice of a building site there was a division. One party had a lot in view which had much to recommend it, but the president advocated another site, limited in extent and of poor outlook, because—so said the other faction—there was more graft in it for him. Eventually the president and his party prevailed, and building was commenced in that location. But the dissatisfaction increased and presently the other party found itself in power. It was too late to change the building site, but the president was deposed and another man elected in his place. The old president, however, refused to give up the books and the money, and the matter had to be taken into court before the new administration could get affairs into its own hands. About the same time the old president fell under suspicion in regard to his complicity in contract labor enterprises and other evil practices, and rapidly lost his prestige. The bitter feeling caused by this affair permeated the whole Greek society of Lowell, and has by no means subsided up to the present time. This story has been introduced at such length because it illustrates so forcibly the lack of harmony which is so typical of Greeks in the United States, as well as in the old country.

The church building itself progressed finely and stands completed today—undoubtedly the finest edifice belonging

to the Greek Orthodox church in this country. Its cost was about $76,000. It is about one hundred and ten feet by fifty-one feet on the exterior, built in the modified Byzantine style which is characteristic of buildings of this order. The material is a fine cream colored brick. There are two small domes in front and one large one over the center, all gilded at a cost of $2,000. The roof is of slate. The interior is beautifully fitted up in the orthodox style. The windows are of stained glass and the frescoes are of really remarkable excellence. The chandelier, candelabra and carved mahogany bishop's chair are all of the finest workmanship. The church is lighted with electricity and heated by steam. There is a gallery for the women. In the basement is a nicely finished room, fitted up with seventy-two desks as a school. This is maintained at the expense of the church, with the main purpose of cherishing the national feeling for Greece in the hearts of the rising generation. There are two teachers, a Greek man and an American lady, and about sixty-five pupils, both boys and girls.

The following table compiled from the police reports shows the criminal record of the Greeks of Lowell for the five years 1904-1908, inclusive. For purposes of comparison the figures for all the other nationalities given in the tables are also included.

Record of Arrests, with Nativities, Lowell.

Years Ending May 30.

Nativity	1904	1905	1906	1907	1908
United States . . .	1,824	2,205	2,196	2,101	2,098
Ireland . . .	807	1,000	1,039	1,068	1,050
England . . .	317	401	376	292	257
Scotland . . .	82	117	123	93	90

British Provinces	598	712	638	726	737
Greece (Greeks)	112	158	114	138	155
Russia	108	184	141	168	269
Turkish Empire	17	50	21	30	6
Germany				14	1
Portugal				17	12
Austria				5	
Sweden				18	3
France				7	13
Norway				4	
Italy				4	8
Miscellaneous	69	88	36	42	140
Total	3,934	4,915	4,684	4,727	4,839

As the table shows, the number of arrests among the Greeks has remained fairly constant for the five years. As the total number of Greeks in the city has been increasing somewhat, this indicates a degree of improvement in their criminal record. Taking the figures given on page 133 as a basis of comparison, we find that in 1908 there was one arrest among the Greeks for every fifty-eight of the total Greek population, among the Portuguese one out of every 183, of the Swedes one out of 1,000, and if we assume that 90 per cent of the offenses credited to the British Provinces were committed by French Canadians, their proportion would be about one arrest to forty-two total population. Of the English-speaking population, native and foreign, the proportion is about one arrest to fourteen total population, a result to which the Irish contribute very largely. The police records do not give any statement as to the classes of offenses for which the different nationalities were arrested, but I was informed by the officials that arrests among the Greeks are almost wholly for minor offenses such as disorderly conduct, quarreling, gambling and breach of the Sunday observance regulations.

Applications for relief from public sources are few among the Greeks in Lowell. The principal philanthropic organization in the city is the Ministry-at-Large. Out of a total of 2,867 cases assisted by this organization in 1907, sixty-five were Greeks. The reason given for this small number is that the Greeks have not yet "got on to" this source of assistance. It is said that if they knew the ropes, they would come fast enough. One Greek of considerable prominence in the city is said to have tried to increase his prestige among his people by acting as an intermediary between the society and the needy individual. But as he always insisted on administering the relief himself in person, the society became suspicious and put a check on his appeals.

Taking them altogether, the Greeks in Lowell hold an unenviable reputation in the mind of the average American citizen of the place. On the whole they are considered a quarrelsome, treacherous, filthy, low-living lot. Yet this opinion does injustice to a large proportion, possibly a majority of them. There are many Greeks in the city who are just as fine a type of citizen as one could hope to find. In this case, as in so many others, a dozen noisy, turbulent, disreputable individuals can attract more attention, and make more of an impression on the outsider's mind, than a couple of hundred who go quietly about their business, say little, and stay where they belong.

In general, however, conditions are probably as bad among the Greeks of Lowell as in any other settlement of that people in the country. This is due, partly, to the fact that the majority of them come originally from a turbulent stock, partly to the fact that they are engaged so largely in factory occupations instead of in independent

business, partly to the fact that they are living in tenement conditions in a small city, without proper tenement inspection or control. The miserable living and working conditions in which they live cause a great deal of disease among them. Tuberculosis is very prevalent, caused by the wretched living conditions and breathing the dust of the factories. The following case is typical of hundreds. A little girl, lying sick with tuberculosis in the hospital, was visited by the wife of one of the Protestant pastors, who asked her how she contracted the disease. The child replied that at the age of twelve she entered one of the mills, at the instigation of her father. In order to gain admittance she made a false oath in regard to her age. The hard work, close confinement, and bad air were too much for her, and she contracted the dread disease. Eventually she succumbed to it. In 1906 this disease became so prevalent that the Board of Health caused a notice to be printed and circulated, especially in the Greek section of the city, stating the causes of tuberculosis, and the means of its prevention. Certain regulations in regard to the ventilation of bedrooms and the number of beds in each, and the provision and use of spittoons, were prescribed and it was stated that any violations of them would be prosecuted. But no prosecutions occurred and little else was done about the matter.*

The ignorance of the Greeks in this colony is another cause of many evils and abuses. Particularly is this true of ignorance of the English language, which many of them find it almost impossible to learn under the circumstances in which they are placed. A Greek who has managed to get some acquaintance with the language and customs of

* Kenngott.

this country has a great advantage over his fellow countrymen and most of them are not slow to make the most of it. One way in which this is done is for the proprietor of a grocery store or meat market to go to a group of newcomers who have just established themselves in the community, particularly if they are Macedonians, and tell them that they are disobeying some of the laws of the city and that if they do not purchase their provisions of the storekeeper in question he will put the police on their trail. The poor newcomers know of nothing else to do but to comply. The provisions sold by such means as this are said to be vile in the extreme. Similar abuses in the matter of securing employment have already been noted.

To correct these evils the city, through its Board of Education, is making every effort to further education among the foreign element, particularly by means of the system of evening schools. Of these there are sixteen, two of which are wholly Greek, and one other mainly so. Attendance at these schools is compulsory for persons of both sexes under twenty-one years of age who cannot read and write English. These schools are held four evenings a week for nineteen weeks. In 1906-07 in the three schools which were mainly Greek there was a total average attendance of 439 and a total enrollment of 937. In 1907-08 in two Greek schools there was a total average attendance of 570. To secure attendance at these schools a very wise device has been adopted. Each pupil is given a card which is signed week by week with a record of his school attendance. Unless this card shows a correct record for the week previous, the holder cannot secure employment in any of the mills. Almost all of the employers give their hearty support to this scheme, and the loss of this card

is a much dreaded misfortune. The withdrawal of this card from any pupil is the severest punishment in vogue in the night schools, and the mere threat of such an action is usually sufficient to secure obedience. If a child is under fourteen years of age he is supposed to attend the day schools.* But there is great difficulty in applying this rule, for the Greeks are inveterate liars when it comes to matters of age—or anything else that will interfere with their doing what they want to. (For a fuller discussion of the problem of age, see under the padrone system, page 172.)

Another very commendable effort to improve the conditions of the Greeks in Lowell takes the form of a book of Municipal Regulations, published in Greek and English and distributed freely, under the auspices of the Middlesex Women's Club of the city. This little booklet contains much valuable advice in regard to decent and sanitary living, and obedience to law.

The Greek Colony of New York.

The New York colony is less distinctive and centralized than either of the settlements hitherto described. The characteristic occupations of the Greeks here resemble those of Chicago rather than those of Lowell, and as these business houses are scattered over long distances, the tendency is for the Greeks to gather in several small settlements rather than for all to collect in one large one. On account of the immense size of the metropolis, also, the Greeks have not as yet impressed themselves so distinctly on the industrial organization, nor been able to gain the

* If a child cannot read and write simple English he must attend the day school until he is sixteen.

same degree of control of their typical businesses, as in the smaller places. At the present time there are in Greater New York about 20,000 Greeks, of whom 12,000 to 14,000 live in Manhattan and the Bronx. They are almost entirely males. From 40 to 50 per cent are said to be married, but very few have their wives with them. The Greek-American Guide (1909, page 164) says, "The unmixed Greek families in New York number about 150 to 170, and the mixed families are few." As a result the men have to live in the manner which we have found to be the characteristic one in Chicago and Lowell. A group of men—four or five, or even a dozen—club together and rent one or more rooms which are used as their sleeping and living apartments. The meals are either prepared by the men in their rooms, or secured at restaurants outside. True home life is practically non-existent among them.

There are three main centers of Greek life in Manhattan. One of them centers around Madison Street, between Catherine and Pearl Streets, running for short distances up Roosevelt Street, Oliver Street and other side streets; the second has its center on Sixth Avenue, about Thirtieth Street, and extends for some distance both ways on Sixth Avenue, and east and west into the side streets; the third is on the opposite side of the city around the intersection of Thirtieth Street with Second and Third Avenues. Of these settlements the first is the oldest and the most typically Greek. On the whole the residents are of the less prosperous class, small dealers, push-cart men, etc. It is the starting place of the newcomers, so that while the settlement is the oldest, the settlers themselves are probably more recent than in other sections. As in Chicago, the Greeks have invaded an Italian settlement

and are slowly displacing the earlier inhabitants. As yet, however, the population of this section is far from being wholly Greek. The tenement house records for this region show a most heterogeneous collection of dwellers, Irish, American, Russian, Italian, Chinese and others. The business houses, however, are almost entirely Greek, coffee-houses, groceries, restaurants, barber-shops, importers' establishments, etc. The coffee-houses are as exact a reproduction of those in Greece—with the exception of the outdoor features—as one could hope to find. There are the same small tables, the same familiar lithographs of the "Death of Patroclus," "The Vengeance of Achilles," "Byron Taking the Oath of Allegiance," and "King George of Greece." There is the same vile atmosphere and the same crowd of big, able-bodied loafers with apparently nothing to do all day but smoke, drink, play cards and talk. And as in Greece, the proprietors and waiters are often in their shirt sleeves and collarless, with a decidedly unkempt appearance in general. The restaurants in this settlement are also distinctively Greek in appearance and in the character of the food. The tenement houses in this district are old and many of them very undesirable. Many have several dark rooms on each floor. The average number of water-closets is one to two or three families, but some have no inside closets whatever.

The Sixth Avenue settlement is much more Americanized. In fact the casual passer-by would hardly notice any evidences that he was in the midst of a Greek district. The residents of this section are on the whole more progressive and engaged in larger and more important businesses. The smaller colony on the opposite side of the city around Second Street and Third Avenue is almost

wholly a residence section, and except for one or two Greek stores there is nothing to show that it is settled by this race.

The Greek-American Guide gives the following list of business firms and business and professional men: seven newspapers and periodicals, ten steamship agents, three real estate agents, five importing and exporting merchants, six physicians and surgeons, thirty-seven Greek produce importers and groceries, seventy confectioners, twenty-six tobacco importers and cigarette manufacturers, one hundred and thirteen florists, forty-six fur dealers and furriers, eleven wholesale fruit dealers, sixty-two retail fruit dealers, fifty-one bootblack parlors, one hotel and restaurant, sixty-seven restaurants and lunch rooms, forty Greek restaurants and coffee-houses, thirty-two Greek coffee-houses, four saloons, two photographers, three teachers, two printers, five booksellers, twenty-four barbers, seventeen tailors, four shoemakers, five bakers, four Greek candy makers, six carpenters, two priests, nine editors, nine miscellaneous. In Brooklyn there are eighteen confectioners, thirty-three restaurants, seven fruit dealers, and ten florists. In Coney Island, thirty-one hotels, restaurants, etc. This list includes only separate establishments. In regard to the number of people actually engaged in the different trades, from information furnished me by two of the leading Greeks in the city, the following estimate has been made: confectioners, 1,250; florists, 650; restaurants (including waiters, dishwashers, etc.), 3,500; fruit dealers and peddlers, 2,000; bootblacks, 500. These figures may be taken as fairly accurate for the city proper. The balance of the Greek population are engaged in miscellaneous trades and independent busi-

nesses. There are few Greek factory workers in New York, outside of a small number employed in the cigarette factories.

One of the first trades to be taken up by the Greeks—probably the very first—in New York was the florist business. This was started in a small way as a street trade. As different men prospered they would rent little stores where they would keep their stock, and hire a number of boys to do the selling on the streets. This sort of trade is well suited to the genius of the Greeks, and they have prospered at it. The confectionery, restaurant and fruit business followed. In the bootblacking trade the Greeks are just beginning to get a foothold. This business is still practically controlled by the Italians in New York. In all of these occupations the Greeks have on the whole prospered. Common peddlers are said to make about $600 to $1,000 per year; waiters from $500 to $1,500; boys in bootblack shops from $500 to $800, including their living expenses.* The profits of men in independent business of course vary, just as in the case of any other business men. There are a few extremely wealthy Greek firms in the city, mostly importers. One of the most profitable Greek enterprises in the city is the Greek Hotel on Forty-second Street, opposite the Grand Central Depot.

As in Chicago, so in New York, the Greeks are a negligible factor in the work of the charitable organizations of the city. The officials of the Charity Organization Society say that they have extremely few cases of Greeks. The secretary of the Bureau for the Handicapped could remember only one Greek case in many years. The State

* These figures, though furnished by an influential Greek, are probably somewhat exaggerated.

Board of Charities from January 1, 1906, to August 15, 1907, had six cases of Greeks; five were removed from the Metropolitan Hospital and sent to Greece, and one from the City Hospital. The secretary of the Bowery Branch of the Y. M. C. A. says that he has very few applications from men of this nationality. Wherever inquiries are made the same answer is returned. Neither do the Greeks enter into the life of the social settlements. The University Settlement and the Jacob A. Riis Settlement both reported that they had no Greeks. The College Settlement has made an effort to get hold of the Greeks, but without success. Six years ago they followed the example of Hull House and gave a presentation of the "Ajax" with Greek actors. While the performance itself was a grand success, the managers had a great deal of trouble in getting the "high class" and "low class" Greeks to work together in harmony, and no permanent results were secured in the way of enlisting the interest of the Greeks in the work of the settlement.

Outside of the coffee-houses the Greeks have few amusements. There are no athletic clubs, dance halls or Greek theaters, though occasionally a play is presented in Greek in one of the American theaters. The social life of the people centers almost entirely around the coffee-houses and restaurants, though there is a Greek political club, with Republican affiliations, on Sixth Avenue. The best Greek restaurants, of a distinctively foreign type, are on the central streets of the Sixth Avenue settlement. At these places the cooking is excellent and the prices very moderate. A first-rate meal, consisting of soup, roast lamb, potatoes, salad, Greek pudding and bread may be secured for thirty-five or forty cents. These restaurants are pat-

ronized by the more well-to-do Greeks. The lower class establishments on Madison Street have even more reasonable rates. The Greek takes plenty of time for his meals and may spend a couple of hours or more altogether, smoking, drinking his black coffee and chatting with his friends. The newspaper, too, plays a large part in this entertainment, and newsboys are continually entering and calling out their different journals.

There are four newspapers published in New York, the *Atlantis* and the *Panhellenic*, daily; the *Simaia*, semi-weekly; and the *Paraxenos* (humorous), bi-weekly. Besides these there are two monthly magazines, the *Commercial Review*, and the *Thermopylæ*. Of these the most important is the *Atlantis*, which is considered the authoritative organ of the Greek-American people. This paper was established in 1894, and has now a circulation of about 15,000 copies. It has a busy office on West Thirty-first Street, with an editorial staff of five, and about ten employees. One important department is that of book selling. Unfortunately the editor does not command the universal respect that his influential position ought to carry with it. Rightly or wrongly, there are many scandals attached to his past life, and many of his influential fellow countrymen are very bitter against him.

The *Panhellenic*, a so-called "independent" daily, was established in March, 1908. The general relation between it and the *Atlantis* is one of bitter rivalry. In this connection a rather racy incident developed in the fall of 1908, which so well illustrates the inborn spitefulness of the Greeks, their fondness for newspaper vituperation, and some other phases of their character that it seems to merit a small space here. When the new daily was founded it

secured as one of its principal officials a certain Mr. Ekonomidy, who had been employed for three or four years on the staff of the *Atlantis*, and left it, so the *Panhellenic* claimed, bearing a letter of recommendation from one of the editors of the older paper. In November, 1908, the *Panhellenic* announced that this gentleman had started on a tour of the Greek colonies of the United States, in the interests of his paper. In regard to this announcement, the *Atlantis* published a scurrilous paragraph under the headline, "The Kitchen Bill of the Cooks," which stated that, "In the independent free communal daily bill of fare of the cooks of Forty-second Street, the one written by the Hebrew editor, it was stated that" the director of its office had started on a tour of the interior to secure subscribers. The Greeks of the country were asked to take note that he had been dismissed from the office of the *Atlantis* for stealing and systematic theft of books and petty cash, and thereby to give "a good lesson to the cooks and the Hebrews, that they were not so easily duped." The purpose of this screed, according to the opposite party, was to discredit Mr. Ekonomidy, his paper and his mission.

A few days later the editor of the *Atlantis* went to the Hotel Imperial, as was his custom, for lunch. While he was seated in the dining room a page entered, and told him that some one wished to see him in the lobby. He went to the place designated and found there the wife of Mr. Ekonomidy. Before the editor could grasp the situation, the woman drew from under her long coat a horsewhip and lashed him across the face with all her strength. She was finally disarmed by the hotel attendants, but only after she had administered similar punishment to one or two of

them. This event naturally called for comment from both the papers. The *Panhellenic*, after deprecating vengeance in general, went on to give the extenuating circumstances of this case, and concluded with the following burst of oratory:

"Mr. Ekonomidy is at the present moment seven hundred miles away from New York. But Mrs. Ekonomidy is in New York, and in her veins runs Hellenic and even Spartan blood. And Mrs. Ekonomidy has taken vengeance for the honor of her husband, for the honor of the father of her child, thrashing publicly yesterday the two slanderers." The *Atlantis* adopted a rather apologetic tone for taking any notice of so vulgar a transaction.*

The Orthodox Community of New York dates from the year 1891. It was incorporated under the state laws in 1904. Its organization included a president, vice-president, secretary and treasurer, and seven trustees, elected by ballot every two years and holding regular meetings the last Thursday of each month. The dues are voluntary and from 500 to 600 members are said to pay $5 per year or over. Some of the wealthy Greeks pay much more. The membership is supposed to include every Greek in the city. But here, as in Chicago and Lowell, the spirit of dissension has invaded the realm of religion. In the year 1908 the self-styled "progressive element" in the church began to feel a spirit of dissatisfaction with the way things were going. They felt that the affairs of the church were controlled by a group of undesirable and conservative Greeks, and that they themselves could get no part in the

*See the *New York Herald*, December 2, 1908, the *Atlantis*, November 27, 1908, the *Panhellenic*, December 2, 1908, the *Atlantis*, December 2, 1908, etc.

management of the organization. Consequently they withdrew from the congregation and rented a new church of their own, and secured their own priest. At the present time the Greek population of the city is divided into two factions, between which there seems to be a good deal of hard feeling. Each claims to have the greater number of adherents. There are no doctrinal differences between the two, but the division appears to have been on personal grounds. It is very hard for an outsider to get at the true inwardness of affairs of this kind among the Greeks.

The older church, the "Holy Trinity," has its edifice at 151½ East Seventy-second Street. This building was purchased by the Community at a cost of $65,000, of which $20,000 has been paid in four years. The sum of $24,000 additional has been expended on the furnishings of the interior, the marble for which was brought from Greece. The building rented by the other organization is at 329-335 West Thirtieth Street, and is designated the "Annunciation." It is the intention of the church to purchase this building soon.

The fondness of the Greeks for organizations is manifested in the fact that aside from the Orthodox Community there are about thirty smaller associations in the city. In reply to a query as to the purpose of these societies, my informant, one of the foremost Greeks in the country and an extremely keen, affable and intelligent man, replied: "One of them does a great deal of valuable work along benevolent lines. As for the rest, I can't for the life of me say what their purpose is. I'll tell you! Each society has a president, a vice-president, a secretary, and a treasurer—and *that's something*."

The criminal record of the Greeks in New York is not

very creditable. The report of the City Magistrates Courts, First Division (Boroughs of Manhattan and the Bronx) for 1907 gives the following list of the different nationalities of persons held for trial or summarily tried and convicted in these courts for that year:

United States	30,261
Ireland	8,061
Germany	4,219
England	1,044
Scotland	473
France	869
Italy	8,243
Russia	9,254
Greece	3,039
Other countries	5,790
Total	71,253

Since there were 10,000 to 12,000 Greeks in the district covered by this report in the year in question, there was, on the average, a trifle over one arrest for every four of the total population. It is impossible to make any exact comparison of the Greeks with other nationalities from the above table, in the absence of exact data as to the total population of these other races in 1907, in this district. We may gain a sort of general idea, however, in regard to those born in Russia and in Italy. The Russians are of course almost wholly Russian Jews. It is a conservative estimate to place the number of these people in Manhattan and the Bronx in the year in question at 500,000. Their average, then, would be in the neighborhood of one arrest for fifty-four of the total population. The Italian population of New York City in 1900 was 145,433. Considering the enormous immigration of people of this race during the succeeding seven years it is a perfectly safe assumption

that in 1907 there were at least twice as many—say 300,000—in the two boroughs in question. On this basis their average of arrests would be one for every thirty-six. In comparison with these two nationalities, to whom we have at least done no injustice, the record of the Greeks is very discreditable. On the other hand it must be noted that the offenses of the Greeks are almost wholly of a minor nature. Out of the total of 3,039 given above, 2,521 cases were violations of the Corporation Ordinances, 286 were for disorderly conduct, 85 for violations of the sanitary law and 25 for Sabbath breaking, leaving only 122 for all other offenses. Of the 8,243 offenses committed by Italians, 413 were assault (felony and misdemeanor), 1,752 disorderly conduct, 99 homicides, 250 larceny (felony and misdemeanor), 75 Sabbath breaking, 3,060 violations of Corporation Ordinances, 660 violations of the sanitary law. A total of 9,254 cases of Russians includes 227 assaults, 2,496 disorderly conduct, 29 homicides, 392 felonies, 287 Sabbath breaking, 3,144 violations of the Corporation Ordinances, and 1,367 violations of the sanitary law. There was not a single case of homicide among the Greeks. But even among the Greeks there seems to have been considerable improvement in the matter of criminality. Mr. P. F. Hall calls attention to the fact that though in 1900 there were only 1,309 Greeks in New York, in 1902 there were 1,678 persons of this nationality held in the courts we have been considering.* In the Children's Court of the First Division in 1907 there were but three cases of Greeks out of a total of 11,446.

There are not many Greek children in the public schools of New York, as would be expected from the small number

* P. F. Hall, Immigration, p. 153.

of Greek families. The principal of the Boys' Department of Public School No. 1, located on Henry Street on the edge of the Madison Street Greek settlement, told me that he had about seventy-five Greek boys in the school. Practically all were born abroad. Their average age is about thirteen years and few of them remain in the school more than two years. Their parents are anxious to have them go to work as soon as possible. Voluntary truancy on the part of the boys is exceptional, in which they differ from the Italian boys. There are occasional brilliant individuals among them, but as a rule they do not compare very favorably with other foreign boys. There are very few Greek girls in this school, one defective being the only one enrolled in December, 1908.

The Greek Colony of Lincoln.

The small but very typical Greek colony in Lincoln, Nebraska, may be taken as representative of a large number of similar settlements located in the smaller cities and towns all over the United States. Lincoln is a flourishing western city with a population in 1900 of 40,169. It is the capital of the state and a great educational center. Here are located about thirty-five Greeks. All but four or five are males and only about a dozen are adults, the remainder being boys employed in the shoeshining parlors and in the candy store. This candy store is located on the corner of Fourteenth and O Streets, outside of the present center of business, but in a district toward which trade is rapidly moving and which many shrewd business men predict will be the center of business in a few years. It is run in partnership by two Greeks, one of whom comes from Sparta and has been in this

country eighteen years. He usually acted as the host on my several visits to the store. It was rather difficult to find the other partner in, as he was an ardent patron of baseball, and was frequently in attendance at the games, in company with the proprietor of the shoe-shining parlors. Both of the proprietors of the candy store are very cordial, pleasing in appearance and apparently good business men. The store is of good size and very clean and attractive. There is a fine fountain for the service of ice cream, soda water, etc., show cases with candy, and tables and chairs in the rear of the room. Back of the main room is a small office, into which my host conducted me. We found there two or three Greek women, one with a baby, and one or two Greek men, to whom I was introduced. In the basement are located the freezers and machines for the preparation of the ice cream. The room is cement floored and everything is clean and attractive. In every way I was treated with a hospitality which marked me as a guest rather than as a patron or investigator.

The proprietor of the Greek shoe-shining parlors practically controls this business in the city. He is a pleasant man to converse with, young, and handsome in a typically Greek way. He is well spoken of by the secretary of the Y. M. C. A. He owns and operates four shoe-shining establishments, three on O Street, the principal business street of the city, and the other one on one of the side streets just off O. He seems proud of his business and is glad to talk about it. He says that he employs about twenty boys. Their pay ranges from $15 to $25 per month and all expenses except their own shoes and clothes. One boy who has been with him three years receives $400

per year. In each shop one of the boys who has been with him longest is given general oversight. The boys are almost without exception industrious and willing, and there is seldom any show of reluctance or of holding off for some other boy to do the work. The shops differ in their appointments, the best one being quite palatial, with seventeen leather-covered chairs of dark hardwood, electric fans, hat cleaners, etc.

The proprietor of these shops was married in the spring of 1908 to a Greek girl whom he had known in the old country. She came to this country three years previously and lived with her brothers in Chicago. The two of them now have a large flat on Twelfth and N Streets, where they live with the boys, "all like one big family." The "boss" says he very seldom sends directly for any boy to come over. One of his employees perhaps has a brother or cousin in the old country and he writes to him that if he will come over he can probably find work here. So he comes, and the "boss" gives him a job. As for sending over and bringing boys here in a professional way, there is no truth in the frequent newspaper reports to that effect—says "the boss." In addition to his shops in Lincoln this proprietor has a shop in Hastings, Nebraska, and one in St. Joseph, Missouri. Some Greeks from another city came to Lincoln and set up a rival shop, but they were not able to make a success of it, and sold out their fixtures to the first comer. The proprietor says that the boys save money, and most of them send some home to the old folks.

In September, 1906, one of the boys employed in these shops became dissatisfied and left his job. He circulated complaints against his former employer which came to

the ears of the secretary of the Humane Society, and he, in company with the secretary of City Charity Association, made an investigation. The charges stated that the employer underfed his boys, made them work from 6.30 a.m. to 10 or 11 p.m., took away their tips, and kept himself in debt to them to prevent their leaving him. He refused to let them enter the night school and their wages of 35 cents per day were not paid until the end of the year. The investigators visited the rooming house where twelve or fifteen boys were kept. They found the boys unwilling to talk much about themselves or their employer, and while a good deal of dirt was discovered, nothing more serious was revealed and no arrests were made. The boy was referred to one of the attorneys in the city, but as far as can now be ascertained nothing was done, and the case was settled out of court.*

These bootblack shops are kept open on Sunday but are frequently closed on Greek holidays. Considerable complaint has been made against them because at the time of the State Fair—the rush season in Lincoln—they raised their prices from the regular five cents to ten cents. But while this may be undesirable, it would be hard to demonstrate that in so doing they depart widely from the practice habitual to native Americans on similar occasions.

In the basement of the candy kitchen is a tailoring establishment run by a Greek from Athens, who is an intelligent and apparently well-educated man. He is very loyal to his native city, and has some fine photographs of Greek antiquities which he takes great pride and pleasure in showing.

* Lincoln *Daily News*, September 21, 1906.

Lincoln is a division point of the Burlington & Missouri River Railroad, and a large number of Greeks are employed on the section from time to time. The division superintendent, when asked his opinion of the Greeks as laborers, said that the Greeks and Italians are about alike. The Greeks live a little better and eat more meat. He thinks there is no better way of sizing up the situation than to say that all foreigners are getting just as "wise" as the Americans. It does not take them long after they arrive in this country to learn all the tricks of shirking and killing time that will help to make life easy for them. These Greek laborers are secured through the passenger agent of the company in Chicago, who in turn secures them from a Greek labor agency.

In the late summer of 1908 a gang of about fifty Greeks was at work ballasting the track along the new line of the B. & M. R. R. out of Lincoln to the west. The foreman was an American and spoke of his gang as follows:

"Yes, the Greeks are good workers. This gang is better than any bunch of Italians I ever had, except one. They live much better than the Italians—why, they live as well as we do. They keep their dishes clean and are a good-natured lot. They draw their pay directly from the railroad company, and the B. & M. has no gangs working on any other basis, though I know of some gangs on other railroads where the laborers are hired and paid by a contractor, who receives his compensation from the company."

These men were under the direction of an interpreter, who acted as "sub-boss" under the foreman. He was a Greek and a very interesting man. He first came to this country in 1886, and has traveled considerably since.

He spent some time on the west coast of Africa. His present home is in Chicago, where he has a family. He goes out with different gangs of men for varying periods of time.

The laborers were an interesting, good-natured lot. They displayed the characteristic Greek loyalty to the old country, some of them going so far as to claim that wages were better over there. They were drawing from the railroad a daily wage of $1.40—about twice what they could have hoped for in Greece. They came from all sorts of occupations on the other side. A few of them seemed to justify the remark of the division superintendent that they were "wise," but this was not general, and they seemed to require no profanity or "bossing" to get the work done.

While they are at work the company furnishes them camp cars in which they live, doing their own cooking at their own expense. These cars contain bunks, benches and tables. Some of them, at least, are kept clean and attractive. Mosquito netting covers the shelves where the food is kept, and the door leading into the sleeping quarters. The men find a good deal of fault with the American food, particularly our custom of having everything in "boxes." In Greece, they say, the food is always fresh, and meat is eaten immediately after it is killed. Our food is stale. In receiving visitors to their quarters they display the gracious and pleasing hospitality so characteristic of their race.

The Greeks of Lincoln are a prosperous and well-contented lot. The City Charity Association has practically no applications from people of this race.

CHAPTER VIII

Economic Conditions

THE Greek colonies which have been described in the preceding pages may be taken as representative of the life of the Greek population of the United States—for there is a remarkable homogeneity in the avocations and activities of this race all over the country. Chicago, New York and Lincoln are typical of much the larger class of Greek settlements; Lowell represents a minor, but important group of colonies located principally in the manufacturing cities of Massachusetts, New Hampshire and Maine. The predominant industries of the Greeks in this country are those which we have found to characterize the three first-named cities, the management of candy kitchens and confectionery stores, ice cream parlors, fruit stores, fruit stands and push carts, florist shops, and bootblacking establishments. Stated concisely, the Greeks in this country are for the most part engaged in catering to the minor wants of a highly organized and differentiated industrial population. A smaller number are engaged in a line of business which, though closely related to the others, has to do with the satisfaction of one of the major wants—the running of restaurants, lunch rooms and, to a less extent, hotels.

The extent to which the Greeks have got control of the fruit and candy business in this country would be amazing if it were not so familiar to even the casual observer. It would be tiresome and unprofitable to attempt to give a list or even an enumeration of the estab-

lishments of this kind operated by Greeks all over the country. Table 15 is taken from the Greek-American business directory given in the Thermopylæ Almanac for 1904, and shows the number of cities in the different states which according to this publication contain at least one of the kinds of shop mentioned, operated by Greeks. The similar directory, given in the Greek-American Guide for 1909, contains so many names of Greek firms engaged in these businesses that it would be tedious to recount them. A few examples of some of the more important cities will convey the idea: Buffalo, N. Y., eleven confectioners; Birmingham, Ala., fifteen confectioners, thirty-three fruit dealers; San Francisco, Cal., seven confectioners, three fruit dealers; Atlanta, Ga., thirty-two confectioners, nine fruit dealers; Baltimore, Md., forty-one confectioners, etc.; Boston, Mass., twenty-two confectioners, forty-three fruit dealers (about fifteen of these are said to be wholesale); St. Louis, Mo., nineteen confectioners; Philadelphia, nineteen confectioners, three fruit dealers; Milwaukee, Wis., seventeen fruit and candy dealers, etc.

In short, not only in the large cities but in the smaller towns and even villages the Greeks are approaching year by year nearer to a monopoly of this line of business. One grows to expect to find a Greek candy store in every new place he visits. The large place that confectionery selling holds in the life of the Greek-American people is well illustrated by the large amount of advertising space devoted to this line of business in the Greek papers. (See Table 16.) In entering the fruit and candy trade the Greeks came into competition with other older-established nationalities, particularly the Italians, and almost universally the Greeks have held their own, and usually dis-

placed the others. One of the best examples of this is in Boston.* Fruit and candy are often combined in one store, as are also candy and ice cream. Flowers are sometimes included in the stock of a candy store, but more usually sold separately. In the flower business, especially in New York, boys are extensively used in street selling.

In seeking for the explanation of the predilection of the Greeks for these lines of business we get little light from a survey of conditions on the other side. It is true that the Greeks are very fond of sweets, and are very skillful in their manufacture. But Greek sweets are mostly of a different nature from American candies, and the Greeks who are engaged in this business in the United States do not to any considerable extent come from similar occupations on the other side. The principal explanation is to be found in the nature of the businesses themselves. The trade in fruit, candy and flowers is one which can be started with small capital and little experience, but can be expanded gradually until it reaches very profitable proportions. The average Greek immigrant does not bring enough money with him to establish himself in a fixed business. But he can buy a push cart, or even a small tray hung over his shoulder, on which he can place a small stock of sweetmeats or fruit, and stationing himself on a street corner, begin doing business. Or if his resources and ability are still more limited, he can at least get hold of a few bunches of flowers, which he can offer for sale. Give a Greek a start in business and he will do the rest. However small his earnings he manages to save a part of them, and in the course of time he has amassed enough to enter on the second stage of the progression.

* Bushee, Ethnic Factors in the Population of Boston, pp. 67, 73.

He gets control of a small sidewalk space and puts up a little stand where he can keep a larger stock of goods, and have a permanent location. From now on his advancement is rapid. Very soon he is able to rent a small store, with or without sidewalk space in front, and then it is only a matter of time and ability until he is operating a finely appointed store on one of the best streets of the city, or perhaps owns a chain of stores which ensure him the bulk of the trade of the place.

Of course, many of the more recent immigrants are spared the first one or two stages, as the great majority of those who are coming now have friends already established in the business, who give them a place in their own store until they have saved enough to start in on their own responsibility. This suggests the second great explanation for the point under discussion. Given a number of Greeks already established in a certain kind of business and the later comers of the same race will follow their lead like a flock of sheep. As one intelligent Greek told me, a Greek is afraid to strike out into any field where no one of his people has preceded him. He himself had tried to establish a large meat farm. He came into conflict with the beef trust and his experiment cost him $10,000. It is the most natural thing in the world that immigrants coming to this country, ignorant of the language and customs, should take up departments of business in which others of their own nationality have succeeded, and in which many of their personal friends are engaged.

The fruit business lends itself to the push-cart trade more readily than the candy business. But the latter is preferred by the Greeks, perhaps because of the less perishable nature of the goods, and it is the most important

Greek industry in the country. One of the first Greeks, if not the very first, to establish himself in the candy business in the United States was Mr. John Frankopoulos, or "Franklin," as he now calls himself. He started business in Boston where he still has a factory. His plan was to start branch stores in other cities and put them in charge of his friends. As the latter got the mastery of the business, he would sell the stores to them and start others elsewhere. At the present time he is said to own stores all over the country. Greek candy stores, wherever found, are apt to be quite uniform in type, perhaps because, in a sense, they all belong to one family. There are probably very few proprietors of such places who have not served an apprenticeship in a similar one kept by one of their fellow countrymen. Quite generally they contain facilities for selling ice cream and soda water, in addition to candy. Mirrors are very much in evidence, and the furnishings are apt to be somewhat gaudy, but the public parts at least are almost invariably scrupulously clean, and the general appearance of the store attractive. These stores usually manufacture their own goods. One of the finest of these establishments is on the corner of Van-Buren and State Streets in Chicago. The appointments are all of the finest quality. A peculiarly dazzling effect is produced by a double string of many colored ribbons running in two directions over the face of the mirrors which line the walls of the room. This store combines all four departments of the business, fruit, candy, flowers, and ice cream and soda.

The best evidence of the quality of service rendered by the Greeks in these lines, is that they succeed. The American people are not usually systematically defrauded in

matters of this kind. Generally speaking, the confectionery business in this country is in much better shape than it was a few years ago. The flagrant abuses, such as the use of paris green as a coloring matter, have largely disappeared. Within the last few years there has been started a publication called "Purity," devoted to the interests of pure food. It contains a list of violators of food laws all over the country. In the files for 1908 there appear a number of cases of convictions for adulteration of candy, and while among them the names of some of the leading American manufacturers are found, there are no Greek names. Several state reports of dairy and food commissioners, etc., were also examined, but no Greek violators of pure food laws were found. As a concrete example I purchased nine samples of candies from four different Greek stores in New Haven, Conn., which were examined by the State Experiment Station, through the courtesy of Mr. J. P. Street and other officers. In selecting the samples I took pains to choose cheap and, as far as possible, highly colored candies, as they would be the most likely to show any faults. Highly colored candies are by no means common, however, in these stores. The result of the examination was summarized by Mr. Street in the following words:

"I found no mineral make-weight, no terra alba, barytes or similar material. The chocolate coatings in all cases were made of pure chocolate, that is, no iron salts were present. Several of the candies were colored with coal-tar colors, but the quantity of material did not permit of their identification, so I cannot say whether those used were harmful or not. It is probable, however, that the quantity present could have no injurious effect."

Prophecy is at best a hazardous pastime, yet in concluding our discussion of this part of the economic life of the Greeks in the United States, we may say that the indications are that if immigration from Greece should keep up at its present rate for twenty years to come, at the end of that period the candy business of the country, the soda fountains, and perhaps the fruit business, would be a Greek monopoly.

In entering the restaurant business the Greeks are doing what might well be expected from their natural proclivities. In their home country they attach great importance to matters of diet and appear to be a nation of natural born cooks. The restaurants in this country are divided into two classes: those which cater to the American trade and are patterned after our own, and those which are made as nearly as possible like the eating houses in Greece, in order to attract the Greek patronage. The former are usually clean and well kept up. The latter are not always particularly inviting to a stranger. The Greek type of restaurant is probably the most numerous, though the other is beginning to hold a considerable place, especially in the southern states. The Greeks have thirty-six restaurants in Atlanta, Ga., where they are said to practically control the business. In Birmingham, Ala., there are twelve hotels and fourteen restaurants, in St. Louis, Mo., twenty-six restaurants, in Pittsburg, Pa., twenty-five restaurants, etc. There are also, all over the country, large numbers of Greeks working as waiters, cooks and dishwashers in hotels and restaurants run by Americans.

The shoe-shining business, though more limited in its possibilities than the fruit and candy businesses, resembles

them in the fact that it can be begun with small capital and little experience, and extended gradually. It differs from them in being especially adaptable to the padrone system. This vicious form of practical slavery has been largely developed by the Italians and takes its name from the Italian word "padrone," or master. But it is also decidedly characteristic of the Greek nation. It may be briefly described as follows:

A foreigner who has been in this country a few years, and has got some command of the language, and knowledge of the customs of the country, establishes himself in some business—the bootblacking trade, *par excellence*—in which he needs the assistance of a number of boys, who need have no special ability or training. Through means which will be described later, he secures from his home country half a dozen or more boys, who are under agreement to work for him for a specified length of time at a fixed remuneration. These boys are kept all together in a room, or suite of rooms, hired by the padrone. He furnishes everything except their clothes and shoes. In many cases he acts as the agent in practically every transaction which the boys have with the outside world, such as purchasing goods, sending money home, etc. He thus has opportunity to defraud the boys to his own profit in a variety of ways without any restrictions save such as are placed by his own scruples—which are all too frequently wholly lacking. The boys are kept at work long hours, and thereby prevented from attending night schools or learning English in any other way. They are, therefore, unable to learn the customary wages or living conditions of the country, and work on year after year in ignorance of the injustices which they are actually suffering.

This is the system which the Greeks have applied to the bootblacking trade in the United States, especially in the western states. It has reached its fullest development in Chicago, where the Greeks have a practical monopoly of the business, but it exists in many other cities in the Union, particularly in the Middle West. In New York and Boston the Italians are too numerous and too firmly intrenched to allow the Greeks to have displaced them as yet. However, in both these cities they have made a good start, and if they do not get control in a few years it will be contrary to their usual rule. Like the candy stores, these shoe-shining parlors are of a uniform type all over the country. They are usually small store rooms, in good locations, fitted up with from a dozen to twenty chairs, electric fans, hat cleaners, etc. Very frequently tobacco is sold, and sometimes there is a barber-shop or pool hall in conjunction. In this business, as in so many others, the Greeks have proved themselves superior to the Italians. The shops are cleaner and better kept up. The boys are much quieter and more respectful, and do not jabber to each other in a foreign language, which is very annoying to an American patron. The Greek boys attend to business better and give a better shine than the Italians. The uniform price all over the country is five cents per shine.

To get at the origin of this system among the Greeks in this country we must examine affairs in their native land. The bootblack is a prominent and familiar figure in Greece, not only in the larger cities, but in many of the smaller ones. With their characteristic fondness for dress and a fastidious appearance, the Greeks pay a great deal of attention to the neatness of their shoes. As the price of a shine is only one or two cents, even those in

moderate circumstances can afford to have their shoes attended to quite frequently. Here the shining is done outdoors or in the coffee-houses; there are few, if any, indoor shining parlors in Greece. The bootblacks have a small box or chest in which they keep their brushes, pastes, etc. On the top of the box is a rest, where the patron places his foot. Some of the bootblacks carry a small chair on which they sit as they work. Athens and Patras contain large numbers of these small boys, or "λοῦστροι" as they are called. They are largely employed as errand and messenger boys, and bear a splendid reputation for honesty. The surprising thing, however, is that very few of them are natives of the cities in which they work. Ask a "λοῦστρος" where his home is, and with amazing regularity the answer comes, "Megalopolis." Further inquiry reveals a very interesting state of affairs, which deserves to be recounted in some detail.

On account of the national dowry system which has been described above (see page 39), daughters in Greece are esteemed a burden, and their advent a misfortune. On the other hand, a boy is an asset, and is expected very soon to begin to contribute to the income of the family. In the central districts of the Peloponnesus, and especially around Tripolis and Megalopolis, the custom has grown up of expecting a boy as soon as he reaches the age of ten or twelve to go away and begin to earn money to support his parents. These little lads are sent away to cities all over Greece, and the Greek cities in Turkey. They are employed in the coffee-houses and grocery stores, as well as in the bootblacking trade. The terms of their service are very hard. They are said to earn from $10 to $20 per year, in return for which they must work from

six o'clock in the morning till twelve at night or even later, 365 days in the year. Their food is bread, cheese, and olives or sardines, with cooked meat once or twice a week. They are brutally treated by their employers in many cases.*

Megalopolis is the center of this practice. There are plenty of small children in evidence on the streets of the village, but one scarcely sees a boy between twelve and eighteen. I was told by an American gentleman residing in Athens, that four or five years ago he had visited Megalopolis and found the town practically cleaned out as far as boys were concerned. A Greek from America had just been there, and had taken about 150 boys back with him.

There are in the neighborhood of 1,000 of these little "λοῦστροι" in Athens, mostly from Megalopolis and the neighboring districts of Tripolis and Messenia. A great many of them, particularly the newcomers, are under the control of a padrone. These boys are customarily sold to the boss by their parents for the term of a year for 200 to 250 drachmas. Different bosses have different arrangements with their boys. Some furnish everything that the boys need and require them to turn in all their earnings; others furnish sleeping quarters and perhaps part of the food, and require the boys to turn in one and a half drachmas each every evening, the balance of their earnings to be used for the rest of their food, and their other necessities. The term of service of these boys is seldom over a year or two. When they have learned the ropes, four or five or more of them will club together and hire a room for about fifteen drachmas per month, and

* A. A. Seraphic, Preliminary Report, Greek Bootblacks.

go into business independently. They earn from two to three drachmas per day, and save about fifteen drachmas per month. They usually stop work about sundown. Their food is bread and cheese, and occasionally a tomato or something of that sort. I asked one of them how many times a day they ate. He looked rather surprised and replied, "Why, whenever we get hungry."

An evening school, called the "Ragged School," is conducted for these boys by the Parnassus Club, one of the fashionable organizations of the city. It is supported partly by subscriptions, but mainly from the proceeds of a grand ball given under the auspices of the Queen, the tickets for which are sometimes sold for as high as 100 drachmas each. The teachers are paid, but the head of the school, who is an official in one of the banks, gives his valuable services free. There are about 700 boys in the school. They are taught writing, reading, grammar, letter writing and such elementary branches. When a visitor enters they are taught to hold up both hands and wave their handkerchiefs, to show how clean they are. The bosses allow the boys to attend these schools, from which many of them are graduates. Attendance at these schools is voluntary and there is no charge for tuition.

The padrone system, then, has been long established in Greece. Nobody seems to see anything out of the way in the practice of requiring these small boys to support their parents—for even after they have started working independently their earnings all go home. One cannot help wondering if the old child tax, to which the country was subjected during so many years of Moslem control, may have had something to do with breaking down the bonds of family affection, and in causing the equanimity

with which parents undergo separation from their ten- and twelve-year-old boys. And however one may despise the callous and indolent fathers, he cannot help admiring the bravery, industry and faithfulness of the little fellows, who start out to make a living for their parents at such a tender age.

The evils of the padrone system in Greece are limited by the fact that the boys are familiar with the language and customs of the country, and cannot be imposed upon to the extent that is possible in a foreign country. While the living apartments and food of the boys are far from what we would consider satisfactory, they are not particularly bad compared with the ordinary living conditions of the laboring class of the country, and the term of service is usually a short one. When transplanted to the United States, however, this system contains possibilities of extreme abuse. The boys are unfamiliar with the living and laboring conditions in this country, and being ignorant of the language, they have no means of informing themselves. They are kept closely confined to their place of business and sleeping quarters, and are very largely prevented from coming in contact with the American world in which they are placed. They are practically at the mercy of their boss, and their treatment depends on his personal will and pleasure. The boss, on his part, is seldom inclined to use his power leniently, and the conditions resulting from this state of affairs have been so bad as to lead the United States government to devote a good deal of attention to the bootblacking trade in this country. The official interest in the matter is increased by the fact that many of these boys are in this country in violation of the contract labor law. For some years

past the government has had a special immigrant inspector, Mr. A. A. Seraphic, himself a Greek, whose main business has been the investigation of conditions among the Greeks in this country, particularly those engaged in the bootblacking trade. From an unpublished preliminary report of his, kindly put at my disposal by Secretary Straus, much of the information contained in the following few paragraphs has been derived. Mr. Seraphic paints the situation in very dark colors, and it seems probable that his official interest in violations of law and oppression may have led him to somewhat over-emphasize the evil conditions, and neglect to give their due place to those shops where the boys are more kindly treated. Yet generally speaking conditions are undoubtedly bad enough to warrant a sweeping condemnation of the entire system in this country.

The importation of Greek boys for this business began about twelve years ago, and has attained very considerable proportions as the large number of Greek boys who are admitted to this country—to say nothing of those who are debarred—under the age of fourteen indicates. (See page 113.) These boys are almost always secured with the consent of their parents. Sometimes the bargain is made directly with the parents, sometimes with the boys. Considerable use is made of the "κουμπάρος" or godfather relationship, in securing the consent of the parents to let the boys go. A Greek from America will go back to his native village, and being a person of considerable importance, he can easily manage to stand godfather to a number of boys. Later on, he is able to make use of this relationship in bringing over boys whom he needs in his business. Sometimes the padrone pays a fixed sum to

BOOTBLACK SHOP AND TWO OF THE BOYS, NEW HAVEN

the father for the use of his boy for a fixed term of years. Sometimes he agrees to pay the boy's transportation, and give him a certain yearly salary as long as he works for him. These contracts are almost always oral, to evade the contract labor law.

As soon as the boys arrive in this country, they are taken to the rooms of the padrone, which from this time on are to be their "home," and are at once put to work in the shop. Thus begins a period of practical slavery. The hours of work are very long—usually from six or seven o'clock in the morning until ten or eleven at night, or even longer.* In the large cities it is said that some of the padrones, to save rent, have the sleeping quarters of the boys at long distances from their place of business, so that the boys have to walk nearly an hour to their work in the morning and back again in the evening. This time is taken from their sleep. As a rule the boys have to work every day in the year, though some padrones give their boys half a day, or even a day, off per week, and some close the shops on Greek holidays. Mr. Seraphic says that when he has won the confidence of the boys, they often plead with tears in their eyes for him to have the "King" or President close the shops on Sundays.

The sleeping quarters are usually sadly overcrowded. Three or four boys are kept in a small room, and sometimes made to sleep in one bed. One little boy told me that in the house where he was kept there were fifty men, and they had to sleep five in a bed. The rooms are kept in a filthy condition, and there is no ventilation, so that the air becomes extremely vile. The boys usually do their own cooking and take turns at it, two by two. The two

* Omaha *Daily Bee*, June 10, 1908.

boys who are appointed to do the cooking for the next day have to stay up the night before and wash the cloths from the shop. The breakfast is a very light one. The two boys who are left at home prepare a quantity of food in the morning. Half of it is taken to the shop for lunch, where the boys are compelled to eat hurriedly in the intervals of trade, in a rear or basement room. The other half of the food is warmed up for supper. This food is probably preferable to what the boys would get at home, at least in variety, but falls far short of the American idea of adequate nutriment. The charge is sometimes made that the bosses purposely refuse to allow the boys to attend the night schools in order to prevent their learning enough to become dissatisfied. Others say that the boys simply cannot be spared from the business. In either case the result is the same—the boys are prevented from coming in touch with American life, and learning American ways of doing things. The restricted life of these boys, and their close confinement to the shop and the rooms are appalling. Many of the boys endeavor to improve their minds, and one often sees those who are not working reading a Greek newspaper, or even spelling out the words in some simple English book. As a rule they are a patient, uncomplaining lot, though when one talks to them of their parents and their home country, the deep homesickness down in their hearts finds plain expression in their faces in many instances. The long hours, poor food, bad air and stooping posture of their work drive many of them into consumption and other pulmonary troubles.

The wages of these boys are variously stated. Mr. Seraphic places the average yearly wage at from $120 to $175. Others put it considerably higher. (See pages

151 and 160.) Probably taking the whole country into consideration the average wage of all boys employed in these shops would be in the neighborhood of $200, not including board and lodging, which are also furnished by the padrone.* Probably the bulk of these earnings is sent home to relatives in Greece. If the boys were allowed to keep the tips which they receive their earnings would be much greater. But in the great majority of cases this is not done.† Sometimes the original agreement with the boy or his parents provides that the boss shall keep the tips; sometimes he merely takes them. In some padrone houses the boys are searched when they come back from work, and any money they may have in their clothes is taken from them. So that the generous-hearted patron, who thinks that his extra nickel is helping along the industrious little boy who has shined his shoes so well, in the majority of cases is merely contributing to the already large profits of the boss, and enabling him to extend his questionable business. The total amount of these tips is considerable. Mr. Seraphic states that they run from 40 cents per day per boy in small places, to $1 or $2 per day per boy in the large cities. This is often enough to pay the salary of the boy and go a good ways towards covering his expenses also. The bosses are said to derive a clear profit of from $300 to $500 per year on each boy. The tipping system, combined with the abundant supply of cheap labor, is the key note of the success of the boot-blacking business in this country as conducted by the Greeks.

Summing up this industry among the Greeks, Mr.

* Omaha *Daily Bee,* June 9 and 10, 1908.

† Do.

Seraphic says, "The conditions now, although an improvement over what they were four years ago, are still so bad as to deserve unqualified condemnation." The question naturally arises, Why do the boys stand it? The answer has already been hinted at, and may be summed up in one word—Ignorance. These boys have no understanding of laboring conditions or rates of wages in this country, and with their lack of contact with Americans, are unable to get any. In general their condition, except in the matter of length of hours, is as good as they would expect on the other side. To be sure, the indoor work in this country is much worse for them than the outdoor life which similar occupations involve in Greece, but they do not know enough to know it. Their clothing is much better here than there, and their wages seem munificent. In fact they excuse the bosses for keeping their tips on the ground that the wages are high and expenses heavy. The padrones intimidate them by telling them that they are all violators of the law, and that if they say anything the officials will get track of them, and put them in prison or send them home. So thoroughly are they imbued with this idea of silence that it is almost impossible to get them to make any complaints against their employers, and time after time attempts to get at the true condition of affairs and secure the boys justice, in various parts of the country, have been foiled by the absolute impossibility of getting any evidence from the only available source—the boys themselves. When put on the stand, the boys flatly refuse to answer questions, and say that though their right hands were cut off they would not talk. This reticence is partly due to the suspicion of the motives of the investigators which the bosses have instilled into their minds, and partly

to a peculiar loyalty to the padrone and faithfulness to the terms of the agreement that characterize the whole class. And when a boy does get a command of the English language and a familiarity with the ways of the land, instead of turning traitor to the system, he simply goes into business on his own account, and puts the experience of his past years to profit.

The statements of the padrones to the boys, that they are all law breakers, are well founded. Mr. Seraphic says that nine out of ten of these boys are in the country in violation of law. The two clauses of the law, which are particularly involved, are the provision regarding contract laborers and the clause refusing admission to alien children under sixteen years of age unless accompanied by one or both of their parents. In evading both these laws the Greeks display their characteristic cunning and unscrupulousness. As stated above, agreements between padrones and parents are almost always verbal. Any writing that has to be done is generally entrusted to a third person. The fact of the agreement is so carefully concealed that it is almost impossible to get any evidence of it. The boys are thoroughly coached before landing, and testify positively that they have no promise of work of any kind, but will take the first honest job they can find.

The age law is evaded usually in two ways—by fraudulent relationships or by false affidavits of age. Both are extremely difficult to detect. A crowd of Greeks starting from some interior village can easily arrange a scheme of relationship which will baffle the inspectors and answer every purpose. Oftentimes a boy will state that he is going to join a father, uncle or brother in some city of the United States, giving the full name and address.

Correspondence sent to the address given is promptly answered, and the statements of the boy are substantiated in full. There is nothing to do but to let the boy in. One of the veteran inspectors told me of such a case, where the boy claimed that a certain man in St. Louis was his father. Authorities on Ellis Island at once telegraphed to the St. Louis man, asking whether the boy's statement was true, and received an affirmative answer. The boy was allowed to go on. But the suspicions of the authorities remained active, and my informant eventually made a trip to St. Louis to investigate the case. It was discovered that the presumptive father was no relation at all, but a padrone who was importing boys for his shop.

The matter of the age of Greek boys has caused a great deal of trouble to the authorities in this country, not only on account of the immigration laws, but also on account of the child labor laws of various states. The boys themselves will swear to whatever age is necessary to secure their admission or to make their employment legal in the place they are living in. If the minimum age of employment is fourteen years, it is amazing how many Greek boys there will be just fifteen years of age. The experience of officials in these cases has been such as to cause most of them to regard the affidavit of a Greek, in matters of this sort, as of absolutely no value whatever. Recourse has been had to the birth certificates sent from the officials in Greece, but these too have come to be regarded as wholly worthless. There is no official record of births kept in Greece, and the only source of authority as to the age of a child, is the baptismal certificate. But these are not kept with any degree of accuracy or uniformity. When the United States government wishes to ascertain

the age of any Greek boy, the mayor of his village is asked to send a certificate. But this mayor is probably a personal friend of the family, or at any rate is anxious to please his constituency, and if he receives an intimation that the boy in question is supposed to be at least seventeen years old, in a majority of cases he is ready to make the certificate out accordingly. One of the best-known Greeks in Lowell, a young man of high aims who is called on to do a great deal of interpreting, pulled out from his desk a big stack of yellow papers, all of which he said were false age certificates, and represented only a small part of what had come to him. Even a true certificate adds a year to a boy's age, for the Greeks in reckoning ages count the year upon which one has entered, instead of the one which he has completed. For these causes it is a very difficult matter to secure convictions on these counts. Nevertheless the strenuous efforts of the government to check this practice have not been wholly fruitless, and a number of convictions have been secured. For instance, Mr. Seraphic in his report mentions eighteen indictments in Chicago, on the grounds of conspiracy and violation of section 8 of the Act of March 3, 1903 (concerning those who bring in aliens not lawfully entitled to admission). Of these, eight cases resulted in convictions with fines of from $25 to $500 and from thirty to sixty days in jail. Nine cases were still pending. Many would-be violators of the law have also been detected at the ports of arrival and refused admission. (See page 116.) The report of the Commissioner-General of Immigration for 1904 (page 38) contains the following paragraph:

[Violators of the contract labor law] "are divided into

two classes. There are those who are brought to do work in this country for less than similar laborers here would charge for the same work, and there are those who are brought in pursuance of what is popularly known as the 'padrone system'—in fact a system of peonage or slavery. A familiar instance of the latter class is found in the Greek bootblacking establishments scattered through our large cities, operated usually by Greek lads ranging from ten to eighteen years of age. . . . . During the last four months of the year there arrived at the port of Boston alone 898 of these youths, 127 of whom were returned. . . . . The greatest care is exercised to stop these aliens and return them, both because of the inconsistency of the padrone system with those principles of freedom upon which our form of government is based, and because the importation of contract labor is forbidden."

Our final judgment in regard to the padrone system can only be that it is a standing reproach to the Greek population of the United States, and a menace to the free labor principles of our country.

Allied to the padrone system is the contract labor system as applied to the railroad laborers in the Middle West. Mr. Seraphic says that the majority of these laborers in Nebraska, Missouri and Kansas are imported in violation of the contract labor law. The system of procedure is somewhat as follows: A semi-Americanized Greek goes to a railroad company, and agrees to furnish a certain number of laborers. He then goes over to his own country and persuades fifty or one hundred men to accompany him back to America. He supplies them with prepaid tickets, and takes a mortgage on their property to the amount of two, three or four times the value of the

ticket. He then brings them with him back to America, and makes them work for him seven or eight months for nothing, to repay him for an outlay of probably not over $100 or $125 each. In some cases an importer, who has taken mortgages far in excess of the amount he has expended, will arbitrarily discharge a crowd of men two or three weeks after he has brought them over, to make room for another similar set. Those whom he has discharged must find work for themselves somewhere to pay off their mortgages. The Greeks display a strange faithfulness in paying off debts of this kind, no matter how badly they have been treated, even if the agreement was simply oral. Other agents or "interpreters" pick up their men in this country, particularly in Chicago. The railroad company agrees to pay the interpreter a certain sum per man for a gang of forty or so men, and the interpreter pays the men whatever he can get them for, usually sufficiently less to leave him a handsome margin of profit. Systems similar to the ones above described are in vogue in the fruit-peddling business in Illinois, and even in the factory industries of Lowell and the neighboring towns. In fact, one of the greatest indictments against the Greeks in this country—perhaps the greatest—is their habit of exploiting each other. When a Greek gets a certain mastery of American ways, the chances are that he will at once begin to put his acquirements to use in making money out of his less experienced countrymen. As has been seen, this may be done in a variety of ways. One of the immigration officials in Omaha told me that the Greeks never missed an opportunity to press any advantage of this sort. If a Greek who knows a little English sees a policeman engaged in some altercation with a Greek

peddler or push-cart man, the former immediately encourages the officer to arrest the latter, and then offers to act as interpreter in order that he may get the fee. This is of course an unimportant case, but it well illustrates the attitude of mind.

In evading the laws which prohibit these nefarious practices, the Greek shows himself a master of every trick and artifice. False affidavits, assumed names, and plain lying are all used with the greatest effect. There is a little book published in Greek in Patras which contains full instructions as to the proper answers to make to the inquiries of the immigration authorities, in order to best secure admission. When it comes to the question in regard to any promise of employment, it informs the immigrant that here is the place to be firm, and whatever the facts may be to put on a bold front, and answer that he has no idea of what he is going to do, but will take the first honest job he can find. A significant paragraph warns the immigrant to destroy the book before reaching the shores of America.

It must not be assumed, however, because these practices are characteristic of the race, that they are universal. It is only justice to say that a large number of the more enlightened Greeks in this country are just as much opposed as anybody to these abuses, and are willing to do all in their power to stop them.

The industries which have been described in the preceding pages employ the great bulk of the Greeks in the United States. The class of occupations which ranks next in importance is that which we have seen exemplified in the case of Lowell, employment in factories. In these occupations the Greeks may be said to rank about on a

level with the other nationalities among whom they work. Employers as a rule speak well of them as factory hands, though some of the factories in Maine have found them too excitable and unsteady to be good workers, and are turning them off. As far as the Greeks themselves are concerned, however, it would appear that factory employment is the most disadvantageous of any of the characteristic occupations into which they enter in this country. It tends to crowd them together in unhealthy tenements, which they do not know how, or do not care, to keep in the most sanitary condition possible. It leads to the employment of young girls in unhygienic factories. The close and dust-laden air proves disastrous to both old and young, accustomed as they are to the open air of their native fields and hillsides. In such employment there is not the same opportunity for advancement and material progress as there is when the Greek can employ his native talents in the prosecution of some independent business.

In all these avocations, the Greeks display that remarkable adaptability and versatility which is so characteristic of the race. When it is remembered that practically all of them come from a purely pastoral or agricultural life, perhaps never having been in a city of 10,000 inhabitants, nor ever having engaged in any larger mercantile transaction than the sale of a few dollars' worth of farm produce, it is decidedly surprising to see them succeeding so well in the highly developed commercial life of our nation.

Scattered over the country are small groups of Greeks engaged in a variety of miscellaneous occupations. On the shores of the Atlantic near Newport, and of the Pacific around San Francisco, are little settlements of Greek fishers. In Florida, with their headquarters at

Tarpon Springs, is quite a colony of Greek sponge fishers, said to be the superiors in their line of any people in the world. The railroad workers who have already been mentioned in connection with the contract labor problem are a numerous body, and are considered very good workmen. In Utah there are a number of miners, while still further west, in California, the Greeks have become well established in the fruit-raising business. The steamships sailing to and from American ports carry a number of Greek firemen, and they are also employed in some stationary plants on shore, where they are said to render excellent service.

The number of Greek farmers in this country is surprisingly small, when their origin is considered. There are a few farmers around Boston, and very probably in other parts of the country, but they are so few as to attract no attention. The reasons for this state of affairs are probably that farming in this country as a rule requires a considerable amount of capital, and that no Greek has so far made a conspicuous success in this department. One reason suggested by a thoughtful Greek seems to have a good deal of weight—namely, that ignorance of the language makes it very difficult for a Greek to get a start in this direction, far away from others of his race. If a little farming colony of Greeks could once be well started there is every probability that it would succeed, and prosper, and increase. One enterprising Greek of Lowell, who has already been referred to, cherishes the idea of sometime securing a tract of land, say in Texas, and organizing such a colony. For the sake of the Greeks, as well as of our own country, it is to be hoped that this commendable plan will materialize.

CHAPTER IX

Social Conditions

IN whatever occupations the Greeks enter, the majority of them are successful, at least from a pecuniary point of view. This is due both to their native business ability and to their thrifty, and more than thrifty, abstemious, habits of life. The earnings of the laboring class are not large. As we have seen, factory hands earn on the average about $9 per week; boys in the shoe-shining parlors, about $200 per year and their keep; railroad laborers receive about $1.45 per day. The profits of men engaged in independent business of course vary, and any estimated average would have little significance. But however small the yearly receipts may be, the Greek almost invariably manages to save part of them, usually about half. Part of this money is laid away, but a goodly share is sent home. Various attempts have been made to estimate the amount of money that passes in this way from America to Greece each year. This is a difficult thing to accomplish owing to the fact that the remittances are made in many different forms, postal money orders, checks, drafts and American paper money. Statistics of these matters are not carefully kept in Greece. Mr. Horton states that a conservative estimate places the amount of money sent from America to Greece in 1903 at about $4,000,000; in 1904, about $3,000,000. The postmaster-general of Greece, about 1906, estimated this flow of money at about $8,000,000, but as his only certain basis of judgment was the amount of the single item of postal money orders,

which he reckoned as one-eighth of the total, his figure is hardly more than a shrewd guess. The director of the Tripolis branch of the Ionian Bank told me that the annual amount of money sent from America to Greece averaged in ordinary years about $4,000,000, though in 1908 on account of the crisis it fell off considerably. The post office in Tripolis received the following amounts in money orders from America in the years named; the approximate equivalent in American money is given:

1905	$18,383.00
1906	65,330.00
1907	54,453.00
1908	39,412.00

Mr. Charles E. Speare in an article in the *North American Review* estimates the total amount of money sent from the United States to Greece in this way at $5,000,000, or an average of $50 per capita. This is the highest average remittance of any of the nationalities mentioned in the article, the figures given for the other races being as follows: Germans, $4.05; English and Irish, $7.14; Italians, $30.00; Slavs, $28.10; Russians, $14.80.*

The career of many of the Greeks in this country is an interesting story of very rapid progress from penury to comparative affluence. The New York *Times* of December 16, 1907, gives an account of a Greek who came to St. Louis penniless, and started business as a push-cart man. In ten years he had amassed over $100,000 and left for his native land to start a bank. The individual story may or may not be authentic, but as a type it is true. Thirteen years ago a Greek immigrant landed in New York City

* Quoted in the Report of the Ministry-at-Large, Lowell, Mass., 1907, page 8.

with one franc in his pocket. At that time there were only about 300 persons of his nationality in the city. For the first few months he worked in a laundry, and then went into the cigarette business for a few months more. By that time he had managed to save enough money to start a little importing business on his own account. His first shipment was a little oil, a case of cheese, and one or two other small items of like nature. He now has a flourishing importing and grocery business, with two stores on Madison Street, and was president of the Greek Orthodox Community when the Greeks of the city were united. Not all Greeks of course have as prosperous a career as this; some do better, many worse. There are a few Greek firms in the country whose capital mounts well up into the millions, and there are many Greeks who are making the barest living. But practically every Greek in the country is self-supporting—either by his own labors or by the labors of others whom he controls. We have seen that in Chicago, Lowell, New York and Lincoln the Greeks are a negligible factor in the work of the various charitable organizations in these cities. The same conditions are found wherever inquiries are made. Even in the cities where there are the largest Greek colonies, applications for relief from people of this race are almost unknown.

Turning to the national aspect of this question we find the evidence the same. The publication of the Census Bureau on Paupers in Almshouses includes Greeks in the category "Other Nationalities," so that no information for our purposes can be secured from this volume. Through the courtesy of the officials of the Census Bureau, however, the complete set of the original schedules

on which this report is based, were placed at my disposal. The figures given are for paupers in almshouses on December 31, 1903, when according to our estimate (see page 111) there were about 35,000 Greeks in the country. On examination of these schedules it very soon became evident that it was a waste of time to look over the reports for states where the Greek population was small. But a careful examination was made of the reports of a number of states, particularly those in which the great part of the Greek population was known to be gathered. The results of this inquiry are as follows:

State	Number of Greek Paupers
Alabama	None
Arizona	None
Arkansas	None
California	8
Illinois	None
Colorado	None
Connecticut	None
Delaware	None
Massachusetts	2
Missouri	None
New York	1

The report of the Commissioner-General of Immigration for the year 1905 (pages 60-62) gives a series of tables showing the nationality of aliens detained in the penal, reformatory and charitable institutions of the United States. The total number of inmates was 44,985, of whom 103, or 0.2 per cent were Greeks. Of the Greeks twenty-one were in institutions for the insane, and forty-four in penal institutions. As according to our estimate there were in 1905 about 57,000 Greeks in the United States, this is a very creditable showing.

In discussing the question of dependence, however, it is essential to bear in mind the sex and age distribution of the immigrants. This has been considered on pages 112 and 113, where it was remarked that about 96 per cent of the Greek immigrants are males, and that nearly 90 per cent are between the ages of fourteen and forty-five. Add to this the fact that most of the remaining 10 per cent are boys under fourteen, brought over to do some form of productive labor, and it becomes evident that the body of Greek immigrants is an army of workers in the prime of life, with all the patently incapable individuals weeded out by the severe selective processes of the immigration regulations. In such a body we should hardly expect to find a large proportion of dependents. Another circumstance tending to produce the same result is found in the fact that the great bulk of Greek immigrants have been in this country less than five years. They have not had time to exhaust their youthful strength and energy, or to fall, in any large numbers, into disease or other misfortune. It is a well-known fact that the foreign-born paupers in this country are almost wholly individuals who have been here a number of years. Of the foreign-born paupers in the United States in 1900 whose length of residence in the country was known, 96 per cent had been here ten years or more.* In fact, this point is so fundamental that Mr. William S. Rossiter, the chief clerk of the Census Bureau, in discussing the favorable showing made by the Greeks in this respect, expressed the opinion that statistics in regard to the dependence of so recently immigrating a group of aliens as the Greeks

* Census Publications, Paupers in Almshouses, page 101.

were of practically no significance. That this is overstating the case is shown by the fact that in a recent year 7 per cent of the Jewish immigrants to the entire United States applied for relief at the office of the United Hebrew Charities within a few months after their arrival. Yet there is no doubt that length of residence is of vital importance in determining the liability of aliens to fall into dependence in this country. In this connection it is instructive to examine the individual records of the eleven Greek paupers who are reported in the census schedules.

Eight of these eleven paupers were in California institutions. Here is a brief abstract of their record:

C. S., age 62, years in U. S. 30, fisherman, crippled, bedridden, paralytic.

J. M., age 57, years in U. S. 10, fisherman, blind, bedridden, rheumatic.

G. D., age 74, years in U. S. 53, miner, able-bodied.

S. J., age 75, years in U. S. 44, sailor and odd-jobber, old and infirm, paralytic.

C. D. B., age 73, years in U. S. 43, sailor and miner, crippled, old and infirm, rheumatic.

A. M., age 64, years in U. S. 27, fisherman, incapacitated for labor.

A. G., age 65, years in U. S. 7, fisherman, feeble-minded, crippled, bedridden.

G. M., age 66, years in U. S. 30, laborer, crippled, old and infirm.

The two Greek paupers in Massachusetts were in the State Hospital at Tewksbury. Following is their record:

P. L., age 23, years in U. S. 1, laborer, crippled, maimed or deformed.

N. R., age 40, years in U. S. 2, laborer, rheumatic.

The one pauper in New York was an able-bodied youth of seventeen, a confectioner, who had been in the United States two years.

This is too small a body of data from which to draw any definite conclusions with safety. But as far as the evidence of these records goes, it all leads us to expect that when the Greeks have been in this country a generation or so, there will be a much larger proportion of them dependent upon public charity. Another striking fact about these paupers is that they were all males. This might be expected when we consider how large a proportion of the Greek population of this country is made up of males, but it suggests that if the time ever comes when the Greeks begin to emigrate by families so that a man must support a wife and several children in addition to himself, there will probably be an increase in the dependence of this race. An interesting bit of contributory evidence is furnished by the cases of the Irish and Germans, both of which races are popularly considered superior to the "newer immigrants," but both of which have been in the United States much longer than the Greeks, Italians, Slavs, etc. The report on Paupers in Almshouses, already referred to, gives (Table 7) a total of 32,136 foreign-born paupers in the almshouses of the United States. Of these 7,477 were of German origin, and 14,923 were Irish. Anyone looking over the census schedules is forcibly struck by the continual recurrence of names belonging to these two nationalities. These facts admit of two interpretations: first, that perhaps these races are not so much superior, at least in a financial way, to the southern races as we are inclined to think; second, that their much longer average period of residence has largely

increased their liability to dependence. There is probably a good deal of truth in both these explanations, but the latter is much the more important. To what extent the Greeks will follow in the footsteps of the older immigrants in the matter of dependence during the next thirty or forty years can only be conjectured. Whether they will have the ability, foresight and determination to lay up, in the years of prosperity, sufficient property to maintain themselves and their families during the period of old age which is bound to come, or the temporary exigencies of sickness and misfortune, is something which time alone can tell. It seems probable that the great majority of them will, unless the money sent home is allowed to cut too heavily into their savings.

For the present, at any rate, we can say that the Greeks in America are distinctly a self-supporting race. This is due in part to the conditions of age, sex and length of residence which we have just been considering, in part to their business ability and thrift, and in part to their inborn scorn of public assistance. Unfortunately it is also due in part to the extremely abstemious habits of life of a large proportion of them. The living conditions of the Greeks have been briefly considered in the cases of Chicago, New York and Lincoln, and described in detail in the case of Lowell. These cities may be taken as typical in this respect, as they are in others, of the other Greek colonies in the United States. The almost entire absence of family life among the Greeks in this country has already been commented on. There are less than five per cent Greek women in this country, and while a few of the men have married American women, their number is inconsiderable. The habitual custom of life for people of this race is for a

group of men—four, five, six or more—to hire a room or a suite of rooms and use them as their common apartments. Part of the meals are frequently cooked in these rooms, and the rest—often all—of the food is secured outside at restaurants. Coming from the outdoor, village life of Greece these men have no understanding of the fundamental rules of hygiene, and either do not know how, or do not care, to keep their rooms in decent condition. There is very little ventilation either by day or by night. The food is often meager and lacking in nourishment. As a result of these conditions there is a great deal of disease, particularly tuberculosis, among the Greeks. It is a very common thing to meet in Greece men who have been in America a few years and have had to return on account of ill health. These living conditions in America are well understood in Greece, and deter some from coming. In many cases, however, America gets more blame than it deserves. Tuberculosis is becoming a very serious disease in Greece, and many of the men who return from the United States in a tubercular condition, already had the disease, or a tendency towards it, when they left their native villages.

These conditions are, of course, found at their worst in the crowded sections of the large cities, particularly in the factory colonies. As the Greeks become Americanized, or scatter out into the smaller places, their living conditions improve. One of the Orthodox priests received me in a home which was as neat and attractive as could be desired. The life of the laborers on the railroads of the West is decidedly preferable to, and more hygienic than, that of the city dwellers. On the whole, it is safe to say that in the matter of living conditions the Greeks are

more cleanly and in general more respectable than the Italians.

In endeavoring to ascertain the criminal record of the Greeks from a national point of view I had similar advantages to those which were accorded me in the investigation of pauperism; the original census schedules for penal institutions were put at my disposal. The four states, California, Illinois, Massachusetts and New York were chosen for examination as they contain the bulk of the Greek population. The figures are for the admissions to the various penal institutions for the year ending December 31, 1904, when, according to our estimate, the total Greek population of the United States was about 45,500. During that year there were two Greeks admitted to the penal institutions of California, one for infamous felony, sentence four years; one for counterfeiting, sentence one year. Three Greeks were admitted to the Illinois institutions. One of these was for manslaughter, sentence indeterminate; the second for receiving stolen property, sentence sixty days; the third for mayhem, sentence six months. The Massachusetts institutions received only one Greek, charge, indecent exposure, sentence two years. The New York institutions received thirteen Greeks during the year in question, with charges as follows: Assault, six months; false citizenship papers, thirty days; vagrancy, six months; two cases counterfeit money, one month and $100 each; disorderly conduct, one month; liquor law, twenty days; carrying weapons, four cases, two days each; petit larceny, thirty-six days; violation penal code, six months.

This makes a total of nineteen admissions to the penal institutions of these four states, in which in the year in

question there were, according to the Thermopylæ Almanac, 29,796 Greeks altogether. This is a very insignificant number of criminals, and it should be noted further that the majority of the offenses were of a minor nature. The report of the Commissioner-General of Immigration for 1905 in the tables already referred to (see page 194) records forty-four Greek criminals in the penal institutions of the United States, of whom nineteen were committed for grave offenses and twenty-five for minor offenses. It thus becomes plain that grave offenses, leading to penitentiary sentences and other heavy punishments, are rare among the Greeks. We have already seen from the examples of Chicago, Lowell and New York that minor offenses are extremely common. The evidence from New Haven is the same. Out of a very small Greek population in this city there were fifteen arrests between January 1, 1907, and October 31, 1908, but the heaviest punishment in any case was a fine of $10 and costs.

The police records of Boston furnish a very interesting commentary on the nature of Greek criminality. The following table gives the number of arrests of Greeks in that city for the years 1902-1907 inclusive:

Year	1902	1903	1904	1905	1906	1907
Arrests	287	313	384	348	330	278

As the number of arrests remained nearly constant while the total Greek population of the city was increasing from a few hundred to 2,000 or more, there is evidence of a decided decrease in criminal tendencies among these people. This corresponds with what we have found to be true in the other cities which we have examined. A further evidence, along with a suggested explanation, is furnished by

Mr. Bushee in his work on the "Ethnic Factors in the Population of Boston." On page 98 he gives a table showing the average percentage of arrests to the total population of each nationality for the years 1894, 1895 and 1896. This is reproduced here for purposes of comparison.

	Per cent.
City (total)	8.9
Portugal	3.7
Germany	4.2
Russia	5.6 } 5.8
Poland	7.3 }
United States	7.1
British America	8.1
France	11.6
England	11.8
Sweden	11.8
Italy	12.1
Scotland	14.0
Ireland	16.2
Norway	20.1
China	65.1
Greece	352.2

The total Greek population at this time was about 107. Mr. Bushee goes on to say (page 103):

"On the average every Greek in the city is arrested over three times in a year. . . . . Neither nationality (Greeks or Chinese) is made up of such abandoned criminals as the figures would seem to indicate, as the criminal records of both cease almost entirely at the police courts. The explanation is simple: the Greeks are nearly all peddlers, and many among them take the risk of peddling without a license, with the result that a wholesale arrest of peddlers takes place until all have obtained their

licenses. In the case of the Chinese the explanation is to be found in their love of gambling. . . . . The Italians are responsible for a larger amount of serious crime than any other nationality excepting the negroes."

In regard to the Greeks in this country we may say in general that while they very seldom commit serious crimes, they appear to have no particular respect for law as such, and the number of minor offenses committed by people of this race is probably greater, in proportion to their total population, than that of any other foreign nationality in the country, and very much greater than that of the native-born. As we consider the nature of these offenses, and the marked decrease in criminality among the Greeks which the statistics uniformly indicate, we are led to the conclusion that crime among the Greeks is largely a matter of economic position. When the immigrant first comes to this country his one thought is to save money. He enters some trade which brings him into conflict with the city ordinances. Perhaps he is a push-cart man and takes the chance that the fines that he may have to pay for selling without a license will not, in a year, amount to so much in the aggregate as the original cost of a license. Or he may be a mere peddler of flowers or other goods and be arrested for making a stand in the street. Or again his offense may be for violation of the sanitary code in the care of the miserable room which he has chosen to live in. As he progresses financially, and becomes established in a permanent business, and improves his quarters, these temptations disappear, and his face is no longer seen in the police court. To be sure, there is a host of newcomers every year to take the place of those who have moved up, but the general

average length of residence of the Greeks in the United States is increasing year by year, and with it the average of business prosperity is also increasing. There is reason to hope that with the passage of the years the criminal record of the Greeks will come to compare more favorably with that of our other foreign populations.

A class of offenses which perhaps ranks second among the Greeks to violations of the corporation ordinances, and in some cases is included under corporation ordinances, is that designated as disorderly conduct. In this case, too, an extenuating circumstance is found in the extreme natural excitability of the Greeks. A noisy altercation which disturbs a whole block, and seems to the police officer to threaten a fatal culmination, may be the friendliest kind of an argument. The police officer of course cannot get at the true nature of the case and the whole lot are taken off to the police station. As the Greeks become more Americanized this class of offense may also diminish.

Juvenile delinquency is very rare among the Greeks, as might be expected from the fact that the number of children among them is very small and that most of these are employed all day and part of the night under strict supervision. In the census schedules for institutions for delinquent children in the states of California, Illinois, Massachusetts and New York, taken December 31, 1904, there appear the names of only two Greek children, one a boy of eighteen who had been in this country seven years, arrested for burglary, the other a lad of fourteen, in this country four years, arrested as a disorderly child. Generally speaking, juvenile delinquents among the foreign-born are a minor element. On the other hand, there are

a very large number of this class of offenders among the native-born of foreign parents. This fact should give us food for thought, when we reflect on how enormous this class of our population is becoming.

The statistics of pauperism, crime, etc., for Greeks are given a slight element of uncertainty, or inaccuracy, by the difficulty of determining certainly the race of many of the offenders. Ordinarily, the reports give the nativity, not the race, of the individuals concerned, and as many of our Greek immigrants are born in Turkey and in other countries outside of Greece, it is not always possible to determine the race of a small number of those concerned. Foreigners will frequently prevaricate in regard to their race, for purposes of their own. In the midst of the Italian colony of Jersey City and in Inwood, L. I., there are colonies of people who call themselves, and are called by their neighbors, "Greeks," though they come from Central Italy, and are apparently of Albanian origin. But these uncertainties are in no case probably of sufficient weight to affect our general conclusions, as the great body of Greek immigrants still come from Greece proper.

In respect to the vices of drinking and gambling the Greeks maintain much the same character in this country as in their home land. Gambling is very prevalent among them and many of the arrests, which we have seen to be so frequent, are connected with this practice. In the matter of drink, their habits suffer a slight deterioration. In the place of the light wines of their native land, some of them substitute beer, and occasionally whiskey. But for the most part, Greeks in this country exercise an admirable degree of control in the use of intoxicants, and intemperance is far from being a prevalent evil among

them. The coffee-house fills the place of the saloon as a social center, and coffee prepared in the Turkish style is still the favorite beverage of the Greeks. Tobacco is used very generally in this country, as in the home land.

When we turn to sexual immorality, however, it appears that the effect of American life upon the immigrants is injurious, rather than the reverse. This is in part due, no doubt, to the fact that the Greek colonies are largely composed of young men, freed from the restraints of family ties and the surroundings of home, where the close watch kept upon the women prevents active immorality to a large extent. Through the scarcity of women of their own race these young men in America are prevented from contracting marriages in a normal way. Furthermore, the liberty of American life in regard to the relations of young people is construed by the Greeks as license. The innocent, friendly comradeship of young people of opposite sexes is something so foreign to their experience that they do not understand it. The keeper of a hotel in Tripolis, commenting on the undesirable conditions in America, included among them the freedom with which young boys and girls were allowed by their parents to go out together. Unfortunately, the women with whom the average Greek in this country has the opportunity to become familiarly acquainted, are not usually such as to raise his standard of morality or his opinion of womankind. It goes without saying that those Greeks whose circumstances throw them into contact with the better classes of American society are profited thereby.

As was remarked in the discussion of the aspect of this matter in Greece, it is almost impossible to get data which

will furnish absolute proof of the state of affairs. It must be said, however, that indications point to the conclusion that the sex morality of the Greeks in this country stands in need of much improvement. Among these indications the two following may be cited. In many of the coffee-houses of the Madison Street settlement in New York there are openly displayed advertisements of a Greek clinic, claiming explicitly to cure the most virulent of venereal diseases. Out of 1,337 square inches of advertising space in two ordinary issues of the *Atlantis* (see Table 16), ninety-three square inches, or about one fourteenth, were devoted wholly or in part to the cure of private diseases. The physical condition of a large number of the young men returning from this country to Athens and Patras is said to be deplorable in the extreme.

As we have already seen in so many instances, the old factiousness still asserts itself in this country in affairs between Greeks, and sadly interferes with the harmony which the wide interests of the race in this country demand. There must, however, be a marked improvement in the matter of commercial honesty, for no people could continue doing business in America so successfully as do the Greeks, and keep up the underhanded practices which characterize commercial operations in their native land. On the whole, the Greeks are more industrious and painstaking in this country than at home.

Aside from their commercial enterprises the Greeks as yet have not entered largely into the social organization of this country. As already remarked the number of Greek men who have married American women is insignificant. Greeks do not enter to any extent into the activi-

ties of the social settlements in our cities, and only slightly into the work of the Young Men's Christian Association. In religion, they keep themselves almost wholly separate. As soon as a Greek colony reaches 400 or 500 in number it sets about making arrangements for an Orthodox church. A building is rented or built and a priest secured from the home land. There are at present about thirty-six of these churches in the United States, located as follows: Atlanta, Ga.; Baltimore, Md.; Birmingham, Ala.; Boston, Mass.; Buffalo, N. Y.; Chicago, Ill.; Cincinnati, Ohio; Detroit, Mich.; Galveston, Texas; Haverhill, Mass.; Indianapolis, Ind.; Los Angeles, Cal.; Lowell, Mass.; Lynn, Mass.; Manchester, N. H.; Milwaukee, Wis.; Minneapolis, Minn.; Nashua, N. H.; Newark, N. J.; New York, N. Y. (two); Omaha, Neb.; Philadelphia, Pa.; Pittsburg, Pa.; Portland, Ore.; Providence, R. I.; Pueblo, Colo.; St. Louis, Mo.; Salt Lake City, Utah; San Francisco, Cal.; Savannah, Ga.; Seattle, Wash.; Sheboygan, Wis.; Springfield, Mass.; Washington, D. C.* About fifteen of these own their buildings.

The priests are supported by the contributions of the congregations and receive from $60 to $100 per month salary, and various perquisites which sometimes amount to more than the salary. The decorations and fittings of these churches are made to resemble as closely as possible those of the churches at home, and as a rule the priests keep up the old habit of wearing the hair and beard long, and dress in the orthodox style. Occasionally a priest, or a part of a congregation, becomes progressive and liberal, and then there is trouble. Many of the bitterest dissensions which mar the life of the Greeks in this country

* Greek-American Guide, 1909.

arise over religious matters.* Protestant Greeks in the United States are a negligible quantity.

Along with his church the Greek demands his newspaper. It is doubtful if there is another foreign nationality in the United States that publishes so many newspapers in its own language, in proportion to its total population, as the Greeks. There are at present about sixteen of these newspapers, two daily and the rest for the most part weekly, published as follows: New York, four, Boston, two, Lowell, one, Pittsburg, one, Chicago, four, San Francisco, two, Salt Lake City, one, Lynn, one. There is also a commercial review and a monthly magazine published in New York.†

Outside of the coffee-house the Greek has few amusements. The customary recreation centers are little patronized by him, and athletics receive slight attention.

No large proportion of the Greeks have as yet become citizens of the United States. One prominent Greek said that possibly one fourth of the total number were naturalized citizens, but this is probably an over-estimate. There are said to be about 2,000 naturalized citizens in New York City, 284 in Lowell, and from 100 to 200 in Boston. Almost all of them adhere to the Republican party, believing that its policies are most favorable to the commercial advancement of the nation. Socialism finds no followers among the people of this race in the United States, though it is beginning to get a slight foothold in Greece. Greeks are apparently not inclined to join trade unions, partly because there are comparatively few of them who are laborers in unionized trades, partly because

*See the *Weekly News and Courier,* Charleston, S. C., July 11, 1908.
† Greek-American Guide, 1909.

they prefer their own organizations, and partly because they are not wanted by the unions.

The slight interest of the Greeks in political affairs in this country is rather surprising when it is compared with the keen interest taken in such matters in Greece. It was explained by a well-informed Greek in this country, on the ground that the Greek came to this country imbued with the idea that too much politics was one of the causes of the difficulties of his own land. More than this, the Greek has a profound respect for the ability of the American citizen, and regards him as much more capable of running the country wisely than he himself is. Aside from the inclinations of the Greeks, one patent reason why there are so few naturalized citizens among them, is that the majority of them have not been in the country long enough to become citizens. The very general intention to return eventually to their native land probably has much to do with it also. (See page 211.) The Greek is very proud of his native citizenship and is not anxious to give it up.

For many years it has been the practice of Greeks living in Turkey to come to the United States with the express purpose of taking out citizenship papers and returning to their old home, there to carry on business under the greater protection which their American citizenship gave them. I knew personally of one young man of a wealthy family who came to this country and entered one of our leading scientific schools. He frankly admitted that his main object was to secure American citizenship, and the advantages which it would bring him in the management of his estate. Another instance which was brought to my notice was that of a young man from one

IMMIGRANTS EMBARKING FOR THE UNITED STATES AT PATRAS

of the islands, to whom a business opportunity presented itself in Turkey. He came to this country and worked as a servant in a private family and in a club, with the avowed purpose of securing citizenship, so that he could take up this opportunity under better conditions. An effective check to this practice was put by the provisions of the Act of March 3, 1907, which stipulate that any naturalized citizen who resides in the country from which he came for two years, or in any other foreign country for five years, thereby forfeits his citizenship.

A few years ago it could be said with truth that practically every Greek who came to the United States had the intention of returning after five or ten years to his native land. They came in order to earn and save enough money so that they could go back home, and either establish themselves in some easy business, or else, if they were especially fortunate, settle down to a life of indolence and ease. But this is changed now. The Greeks who went home after a few years' residence in the United States were not content. Having tasted the keen life of this country, they could not be satisfied elsewhere. So the majority returned to America again, this time with the intention of settling down permanently. Their example, along with the increased knowledge of American conditions in Greece, inspired many of their fellow countrymen to look to America as the place where they wished to cast their lot permanently. Today, a very large proportion of the Greek immigrants to America, those who cross the ocean for the first time as well as those who have been here before, come with the idea of making this their home as long as life shall last. Instead of speaking of their native land with proud patriotism, they all too often char-

acterize it as a poor and miserable place, and many a profane Americanism is ostentatiously displayed to show the scorn they feel for it.

As we have seen, a small number of Greeks have attained a position of eminence in the financial life of this country. Very few, however, have achieved any wide influence in the realm of literature, the arts, or the learned professions. Probably the most illustrious Greek citizen this country has ever known was Mr. Michael Anagnostopoulos, or Anagnos as he was commonly known. He was for many years director of the Perkins Institution for the Blind in Boston, and it was under his supervision that Helen Keller was educated. He died about three years ago in Europe.

PART III

EFFECTS OF IMMIGRATION

CHAPTER X

Effects on the Immigrants

THE discussion of the effects of Greek immigration falls of its own accord into three parts—the effect on the immigrants, the effect on the land from which they come, and the effect on the land to which they go. The consideration of the first of these can be little more than a summary of much that has gone before. We have already followed the immigrant into his business, into his home, into his social and religious life, and have seen how he fared in all these departments of his life. All that we can do now is to gather together our conclusions in a few words.

Financially, practically every Greek finds his life in America an improvement over the one he left. He earns more money and is able to save more. He has much greater opportunities of establishing himself in a permanent and lucrative business. Many Greeks who would never have escaped from the hoe or the shepherd's crook in Greece, become prosperous business men in America. A few save enough in a few years to assure them a comfortable living and a position of influence and respect if they return to their native land, as a small number do. The number who fail to make a living in the new country is exceedingly small.

As far as the actual comforts of life are concerned, however, the situation of a large body of the Greeks in this country is decidedly inferior to that from which they come. Instead of the clear, pure, invigorating atmosphere of their native hills, they breathe the vitiated air of a store,

shop or factory. Instead of a day of leisurely and intermittent toil, with an hour or two of siesta after the noon lunch, there is a long stretch of eight, ten, or, in the case of the bootblacks, fourteen or fifteen hours of steady labor. The food in the new home is perhaps more varied, but in many cases it is not so fresh nor so well suited to the Greek palate, as that to which the immigrant was accustomed at home. The living and sleeping rooms in the old home were bare and perhaps dirt-floored, but they were at least clean and well cared for, whereas the new quarters are unkempt and filthy. The social relaxation of the coffee-house is still available, but it lacks the picturesque outdoor features that add so much of charm in the old country. Very many Greeks have separated themselves from wives and children. Either they lack the means to bring them over, or they are unwilling to call them to this country until they can assure them a well-appointed and comfortable home. In any case they do not even see them for five or ten years, and are deprived of all the comforts and pleasures of family life. The unmarried young men do not have the opportunity to meet girls of their own race, or in most cases, worthy women of other races, and so are denied the opportunity of securing wives.

As a result of these conditions the health of the Greeks in many cases suffers a decline. This may be due either to undesirable food and living conditions, to the unhygienic conditions of their daily toil, to change of climate, or to vicious practices. In many cases the morals also suffer, on account of the unwonted freedom of American life, and the customary use in this country of strong intoxicants in the place of light wines. Religious observances are as a rule well kept up, and any relaxation in the

direction of greater freedom is just as likely to be for the better as for the worse.

To the question that naturally arises, If all this be so, why do the Greeks continue to come and stay in such great numbers? the one great answer is, Money. Money making is a ruling passion among the Greeks, and the opportunities of gratifying it are much greater in the United States than in Greece. There is scarcely a Greek in the United States who does not earn more money than he did, or could reasonably hope to, in Greece. The unfortunate conditions which we have been discussing are not due to lack of money, so much as to the extreme privations which a Greek is willing to undergo in order to send money home for the purpose of buying land, building a house for his parents, providing dowries for his daughters or sisters, putting up a bell tower on the village church, or paying off the debts of himself or his family. The gratification that comes from so doing outweighs a multitude of hardships. A minor reason for the willingness of Greeks to enjoy fewer comforts in this country than in the home land is that the rushing, varied, active life of the United States is peculiarly attractive to the Greek spirit. As some one said, "As soon as they hear that there are trolley cars over here, they all come." In the districts in Greece from which emigration has taken place for a number of years, the evil conditions of the Greeks in the United States are very well understood, and undoubtedly deter many from coming. But in the mind of the average peasant the stream of gold, which he can see so plainly, outweighs the disadvantages which he has only heard of, and each one hopes that *he* will be one of the ones who win success in the new home.

It hardly need be said that these unfortunate conditions are by no means universal among the Greeks in this country. They exist most fully in the consolidated Greek colonies, where the dwellers have little opportunity of coming into any social relations, or even business relations, with American people. How complete is this isolation may be inferred from the fact that, though the Greeks are supposed to be quick at languages, it is the exception to find a Greek who has been in the United States five or even ten years who can speak English even tolerably well. The Greeks who prosper most, financially, socially, morally, and intellectually—those to whom the change of residence is a real advantage—are those whose circumstances lead them away from the settlement, and throw them into contact with the better classes of American citizens. And there is a goodly number of these.

It is to be hoped that as Greeks more and more come here with the intention of remaining permanently, and those that are here give up their idea of returning, there will be an increase of family immigration, which will alleviate many of the evils that now exist.

In regard to the general prosperity of the Greeks in this country the Greek-American Guide for 1909 contains the following pessimistic and somewhat exaggerated paragraph:*

"What Do the Emigrants Gain? Do the Greek emigrants in America gain anything? How much do they gain, and how? We think that in regard to both of these questions their compatriots in Greece and elsewhere have

* Page 38. The word "gain" as used in this paragraph should be taken in the sense of earning or getting, rather than that of securing an advantage.

WOMEN WASHING AT THE FOUNTAIN, TSIPIANA

a decidedly mistaken idea. Of course there are, as we have said above, a number of the older emigrants, who after many years of toil and labor have established and maintained certain profitable businesses or enterprises and now make a comfortable living, although not as much as they seem to in Greece. But these are few, and the whole must not be judged by a small part. The newer emigrants, with a few exceptions, gain nothing at all, or at least gain very little, and that by the strictest economy and excessive labor." (Translated.)

CHAPTER XI

Effects on Greece

EARLY in the twentieth century when emigration from Greece to America began to assume considerable proportions it aroused universal consternation in the minds of the Greek authorities. The country was alarmed as it saw its working force drawn off to serve the needs of a foreign land, and the government began to consider measures to check the movement. As the years went by, however, and the stream of remittances began to flow in, opinion gradually changed, and people began to feel that, as long as the money was spent in Greece, it did not much matter where it was earned. This state of mind has generally continued down to the present time, and even the intelligent members of the Greek populace regard the depopulation of their country with an amazing degree of complacency. Within the last two or three years, however, especially since the crisis in America cut down the remittances, there has grown up a party of opposition which controls a large part of the Greek press. Even so late as the winter of 1908-09 the newspapers of Athens contained frequent paragraphs such as the following: *

"THE CRISIS IN CHICAGO

120,000 Unemployed

"According to recent statistics there are in Chicago about 120,000 laborers unemployed. Of these 6,000 are drivers, 8,000 carpenters, 25,000 bricklayers, 7,000 iron workers, 12,000 waiters in restaurants and hotels, 3,000 mechanics and

* Translated from the "Kairoi," Athens, January 8, 1909.

firemen, 50,000 to 60,000 unskilled laborers; 50,000 of these unemployed laborers have families and their wives and children suffer with them.

"The economic crisis of the working classes, on account of these conditions, has reached the extreme limit."

American officials in Greece express the opinion that there is government influence back of these utterances. In fact, late in the fall of 1907, the Ministry of Internal Affairs issued a circular to the provincial authorities calling attention to the depressed state of affairs in America, and ordering them to use every means to check the current of emigration. The crisis was generally exaggerated in Greece, and it was said that America had "gone bankrupt."

The effects of emigration upon Greece are in the main connected with two phenomena—the influx of money from America, and the withdrawal of the laboring force from the country. In regard to the former of these, it may at first seem surprising to an American that the small sum which, as we have seen, covers the amount of the annual remittances (see page 191), should exercise such a profound influence on the economic situation in Greece. But a moment's consideration will make this plain. Suppose we set the figure for the average annual amount of money sent from the United States to Greece at $5,000,000. The general imports into Greece in 1905 amounted to $27,170,533, and the exports to $16,095,184. In 1906 the imports were $27,800,868 and the exports $22,783,161. It thus appears that the amount of money flowing into Greece each year, without any corresponding outgo, is in the neighborhood of one quarter of the total amount which the country receives for its exports, and is

enough to pay for nearly one fifth of its imports. This makes it plain why the money from America exercises so great an influence on the progress of affairs in Greece.

The effects of this inflow of money have been already touched upon in our preliminary survey of the economic conditions in Greece. (See Chapter IV.) Perhaps the foremost among them is the remarkable fall in exchange. This has had the undesirable effect of temporarily increasing to a large extent the cost of living for the average citizen of Greece, but if it ultimately results in putting the currency of the country on a sound basis, it will serve a very useful purpose. Another beneficial result which has followed this inflow of money has been the paying off of a large number of real estate mortgages. The Secretary of the Interior told me that large sections of Greece had been wholly freed from incumbrances through this agency. The rate of interest has also fallen decidedly, until now, in some sections, private individuals lend money at lower rates than the banks.

Turning now to the injurious results of American money in Greece, we note first of all that it has had, and has, a very demoralizing effect upon the industry of the country. The Greek loves both the appearance and the fact of leisure, and is all too ready at best to give up labor and spend his days in the coffee-houses and on the promenades, smoking and talking politics, as soon as the opportunity to do so presents itself. The abundant supplies of money which are coming into the country without labor, encourage this tendency and help to make possible its fulfillment. The Greeks who come back from America with their fortunes made increase this idle class and help to inculcate the love of indolence in the youth of the land.

These factors have contributed to that peculiar stagnation, mentioned in the quotation on page 70. As a result, Athens and the Piræus are the only cities in the kingdom, with the exception of Volo, which have grown appreciably in recent years. The others have remained nearly stationary, and Syra is said to have gone down sadly. If this money were applied to the development of productive industry, the results would be more favorable. But unfortunately it is not. Aside from what is spent in freeing the land, and paying debts, the majority of it is used in furnishing dowries for the girls, in building fine houses, in erecting bell towers and clocks on the churches and monasteries or putting up new church buildings, occasionally in some public project like building a road, and often in making possible a life of luxury as mentioned above. The Greek newspapers in America like to undertake a subscription for some public purpose. For instance, the *Atlantis* is conducting a campaign among the Greeks in America to raise money for the purchase of a man-of-war for the Greek navy. The amount contributed for this purpose up to April 20, 1909, was $30,500.44.

Probably the greatest injury wrought by American money in Greece is in augmenting the fever for emigration. In 1906 Mr. Horton wrote in his annual report, "It is almost impossible to find a young man or boy in the villages or on the farms who does not live in hopes of getting away to America as soon as possible." There is no factor which contributes more powerfully to this result than the constant stream of gold from America. The following sentence, translated from the Greek-American Guide for 1909 (page 39), is taken from the paragraph on "The Causes of Emigration," and expresses the idea forcibly:

" 'Such a one from such and such a village sent home so many dollars within a year,' is heard in a certain village or city, and the report, flashed from village to village and from city to city and growing from mouth to mouth, causes the farmer to desert his plow, the shepherd to sell his sheep, the artisan to throw away his tools, the small grocer to break up his store, the teacher to forsake his rostrum, and all to set aside the passage money so that they can take the first possible ship for America and gather up the dollars in the streets before they are all gone."

An examination of the statistics of population of Greece reveals the extent to which the withdrawal of young men has gone. Greece is one of the few countries of Europe where the male population is considerably in excess of the female. The following table shows the relation of these two groups at the time of the last two censuses:

Census	Total Population	Males	Females	Excess of Males
1896	2,443,506*	1,266,000	1,166,990	99,010
1907	2,631,952	1,324,942	1,307,010	17,932

The first thing that attracts the attention on looking at these figures is the small increase in the total population, only 188,446 in eleven years as compared with an increase of 256,298 in the seven-year period from 1889 (when the total population was 2,187,208) to 1896. The next important fact is the decided decrease in the excess of males, showing the sex from which the bulk of the emigrants have been recruited. We have already seen that about 85 per cent of the Greeks in America are males between the ages of fourteen and forty-five. This would

* The slight discrepancy between the total and the sum of the two items is characteristic of Greek statistics.

be about 127,500 individuals. Now in a normal population in such a country as Greece about 400 out of 1,000 of the total population are in this age group.* That is to say, that out of the 1,324,942 males in Greece in 1907, about 529,776 should be between the ages of fourteen and forty-five. Comparing this with the number in America, and allowing for a slight increase in the population of Greece between 1907 and 1909, we see that between one fourth and one fifth of the working force of Greece are in America. This is merely the roughest kind of an estimate, but it will serve to show how deeply the population of Greece has been affected by emigration. The surprising thing is, that the results on the agriculture and industry of Greece have not been more disastrous than they have. As yet, the withdrawal of so large a body of the young men has not caused any appreciable decline in the cultivation of the soil. It is true that the currant industry is in a depressed condition, but there are other causes for this (see page 76), and while at present the removal of the working class undoubtedly contributes to this result, it was originally a cause and not a result of emigration. The explanation lies in the fact that the women have taken hold of the work. The peasant women of Greece are strong, sturdy, healthy and accustomed to hard work, and they have gone into the fields and taken up the hoe and the plow, and are carrying on the agriculture of the country, perhaps not quite so well as the men, but well enough to save the crops from ruin. They have also entered many other departments of manual labor. Mr. Nathan saw girls of fourteen and fifteen breaking stone by the roadside near Sparta, and I saw some not

* See Bailey, Modern Social Conditions, page 76.

much older carrying mortar and stones for a new building in Megalopolis. In a large limestone quarry in the environs of Athens, I saw a number of women engaged in filling baskets with the broken rock and emptying the heavy loads into carts. I asked one of them how much she earned a day and she replied, "One drachma." To my next query as to the number of hours she worked per day, her reply was, "From sunrise to sundown."

Recently, also, large numbers of Albanians and others from the countries to the north have been brought in to do the field labor, and in the vineyards around Patras one frequently sees large gangs of these motley nationalities working under the direction of a Greek boss. The scarcity of laborers has produced a slight rise in wages which, of course, benefits a small number of those who remain.

Within a year or two there has appeared to be a spread of the white slave traffic in Greece, and the large number of girls who are left unmarried by the exodus of the young men is held partly accountable for this unfortunate condition. One rather amusing effect of emigration, beneficial at least from the point of view of Greece, was mentioned to me by Mr. Nathan. On a recent trip to Sparta he entered into conversation with the chief of police of the district, and the officer remarked that since emigration had been so large Sparta had changed from a very turbulent locality to one of the quietest places imaginable. In fact, he said that not only his own district, but Greece in general, seemed to be pretty well rid of her more vicious criminals.

One other effect which has alarmed the authorities to a considerable extent is the marked decrease in the number

of recruits for the army. This is something which comes close to the heart of the nation, and it, probably more than any other one factor, contributed to the appointment by the legislative chamber of a committee to investigate the whole matter of emigration, and recommend any changes in the laws which seemed desirable. This committee reported on July 12, 1906. The report begins with a statement of the difficulty of obtaining data on which to base conclusions, owing to the inadequate manner in which statistics of this kind are kept in Greece. Then follows a review of emigration in general. The statistics contain so many manifest inaccuracies as to be wholly untrustworthy, and the discussion is on the whole rather puerile. An idea of its nature may be gained from the fact that one of the principal grounds, on which is based the estimate of the amount of money sent home from America, is the lamentable fact that in 1905 in the space of three months 120,000 francs in checks were *stolen* from the mail in the district of Lacedemonia! Little is to be gained for our purposes from the study of this part of the report.

Twenty pages of the report are devoted to the text of an emigration law proposed and recommended by the committee. Only a few sections of it are of especial interest to us. Emigration is proclaimed to be free under the prescribed limitations. The principal ones of these are as follows: Males from the age of nineteen years to the completion of the age of active military service are required to secure permission from their nomarch before leaving. Those belonging to the reserve force are free to depart but must give notice in writing to the authorities. Children under the age of sixteen, of both sexes, are

forbidden to emigrate unless accompanied by their father, or having permission from their father or guardian. Provisions are made to prevent the enslavement of boys, or the deportation of girls for immoral purposes. Provision is also made for the protection of emigrants from the devices of unscrupulous agents, and for their safety and comfort on the voyage. This law was not passed and since that time little has been done toward regulating emigration.

Perhaps there is no better way to gain a concise idea of the effects of emigration upon Greece than to take a brief trip to one or two of the districts from which emigration has been the heaviest and of the longest duration. Let us imagine that we are just starting out on such a trip, and that we have chosen as our destination Tripolis and the region round about. We leave Athens a little before seven o'clock in the morning, and for the sake of the local color travel in the third class. In our compartment are a couple of men whose clothes have a distinctly American character. They recognize us at once as Americans, and engage us in conversation in broken English. When they learn that our destination is Tripolis they at once become interested and from that time on take charge of us, offering to share their food with us, and giving us many suggestions as to where to go and what to do. One of them lives in Steno, a little village near Tripolis. He has been for nine years in Chicago, where he had a fruit store. He has made his small fortune and is coming back to Greece to spend the rest of his days with his family, whom he has not seen since he left. The other man has spent fifteen years in Chicago, where he still owns a grocery store on the corner of Polk Street and Blue

PUBLIC SQUARE, TRIPOLIS

Island Avenue. He is now enjoying a life of repose and ease in the capital. The train jogs along, following the coast line closely, over a well-built road bed. We pass through Eleusis, now a poor Albanian village, from which very few have gone to America. A little later we go through Megara, one of the largest cities in this part of Greece, typically old-fashioned in the architecture of its buildings, and the character of its people. Out of a population of about 7,000 it is said to have sent 1,000 to America. On both sides of the track there is a succession of olive orchards, vineyards and rocky pastures where flocks of sheep and goats are feeding. Soon we come to the Isthmus and cross the Corinth Canal on an elevated bridge. After a brief stop at Corinth we begin our incursion into the Peloponnesus. The road climbs up through wild but beautiful scenery. We soon begin to see signs of emigration in the frequency with which women appear working in the fields. The barren and precipitous mountains all around us, and the immense windings which the railroad makes in traversing them impress us forcibly with the tremendous difficulties of communication in this part of Greece. Ere long the road begins to descend once more and we find ourselves in the fertile plain of Argolis. But our climbing is not done. The rest of the journey to Tripolis, which we reach about the middle of the afternoon, is one long ascent.

Tripolis, lying at the edge of a high, fertile table-land, is an attractive, thriving city. The business and social life of its people centers around the public square, on one side of which stands a fine church, the other sides being enclosed with arcades. In the streets which run out from it the trades and businesses of the citizens are more or

less centralized. One street is given up to iron-workers' shops, another to dry goods stores, there is an open fruit market, and a semi-open meat market. The streets are for the most part narrow, and the houses, though built of stone, are old-fashioned, but the city is well lighted with electricity. The population of the city and the surrounding villages is of a fine type. The men are hardy, vigorous and active, and the women especially are sturdy and well-built, with strong, handsome, square faces.

As we talk with the hotel keepers, the business men, the carriage drivers, etc., we find that "America" is a household word, familiar to every tongue. On every hand we meet men who have been in America. The storekeepers call out to us, "Come on, boy," and as we sit in the hotel office in the evening we have numerous callers. One is a baker in Springfield, Mass., one has several sons in Ogden, Utah, and one young man, whose fine face and pleasant bearing testify to a beneficial experience, says he has left a job in a mill in Pittsburg to come home and serve in the army. Economic conditions in America, and particularly the situation of the Greeks, are well understood by these men. They talk intelligently of the crisis in the United States—and well they may, for on the outskirts of the city stand the foundations of a fine large church, upon which work has had to be stopped until the remittances from America begin to come in again.

But to see the effects of emigration at their best we must take one or two small trips out into the neighboring villages. On one of these excursions we stroll through the villages of Tegea, Achouria and Piali. Everywhere there is a scarcity of men, especially young men. Occasionally a grizzled old peasant will be seen watching a flock of

sheep, or driving his donkey to mill. But the young men are not to be seen. Everywhere there is the impression of desertion. The houses are closed and the streets vacant. In the fields women and young children are digging wild bulbs with heavy iron hoes, perhaps watching some sheep or goats as they dig. These bulbs they will sell to the restaurant keeper in the city for a trifling sum. We approach one or two of these groups of women to speak with them, but they flee from us like wild things. Near the village we pass an unusually fine-looking house. We accost the woman seated at the door, and she tells us with pride that the house was built with money which her sons have sent her from America.

From here we go on to Tsipiana, a compact little village nestling in a valley between two towering, rocky mountains. We enter the coffee-house for a moment of rest, and are followed by a crowd of forty or fifty curious observers. As we take in the composition of the group, we realize that they are all old men and boys, with perhaps a soldier and schoolmaster of middle age. We ask them what is the population of the village, and one of them replies, "Twenty-five hundred or three thousand, but seven or eight hundred of them—all the young men—are in America." Every boy has a brother or cousin in the far-away land, where he himself intends and expects to go just as soon as he gets old enough. They are a curious, good-natured crowd, and follow us in our explorations of the village, exhibiting shyly the text-books from which they are learning English, and the watches and fountain pens—neither of them in running order—which they have received from America. They point with pride to the $2,000 clock in the tower of the monastery on the hill,

paid for with American money. If we get into conversation with any of the young women, which is difficult to do, we must avoid the mention of sweethearts unless we wish to tread on tender ground, for it is a standing joke with a rather bitter flavor around here that there are no men to marry the girls.

On our way to the coast we stop for a few hours at Megalopolis, the great supply center for the bootblacks of the Greek world, as well as for America. It is an unprepossessing little town, which has the misfortune to possess the ruins of an old theater. This attracts numbers of tourists, and the people of the town have as a result lost the frank and courteous curiosity which was so pleasing in Tsipiana, and have become covetous, importunate, and impertinent. We can detect somewhat of a difference between the appearance of this town and that of those we have just left. Here the great dearth appears to be in boys between the ages of ten and twenty. There are plenty of small boys, many of them with their bootblack kits. There are also men of middle age, sitting idly in front of the coffee-houses, doubtless supported by the labors of hard-working little lads in Athens, Patras or the United States. There are evidences of considerable prosperity in the town, for pretentious new buildings are going up on every street and, as we are informed, they are planning to put a marble curbing around the entire square. Along the country roads women and small boys are driving horses and donkeys to and from town, and in the fields tiny maidens watch the flocks of sheep, or carry bundles of brushwood on their backs.

The American traveler in Greece can hardly escape the conviction that the enormous emigration movement is

threatening the very life of the nation. That there are no more pronounced effects observable as yet, is due to the fact that the movement is still not half a generation old. There are still women left to till the fields, and old men and infants to tend the flocks. But with the girls remaining unmarried, the old men dying off, and the boys all leaving for America, the future looks very dark. The unborn generation seems already doomed. At present there are no signs of an amelioration of circumstances. It is true that the crisis in the United States checked the movement for a time, but with the resumption of business in America, the spring of 1909 has witnessed a greater madness for emigration in Greece than ever before. The extreme conditions which we have observed in the villages around Tripolis, and which exist in much the same degree around Sparta, are becoming more and more common and widespread in every part of the Greek world. It is no exaggeration to say that if emigration keeps on at its present rate of increase, as it promises to do, within twenty years Greece will be completely drained of its natural working force, and the population will consist of a few old men and a host of old women and middle-aged spinsters. It is possible—and from the point of view of America desirable—that as the years go by, the immigrants will begin to bring their women with them, or send for them a few years after arrival. But this promises no relief for Greece.

The shocking indifference to the whole matter which is displayed by the average Greek is based mainly on one fact and two theories. The fact is the narcotic influence of the stream of American gold. The theories, in the truth of which the Greek firmly believes, are, first, that

the great body of emigrant Greeks will sooner or later return to their native home, and second that when they do come they will be "educated," and will become centers of enlightenment, uplifting influences, teaching their countrymen progressive methods of business and agriculture, and putting the industry of the country on its feet. The falsity of the former of these assumptions we have already seen. The second is perhaps even more mistaken. Far from settling down to lift up their fellow citizens, the few Greeks who do return are on the whole a restless and discontented lot, and before long the majority of them break loose once more and go back to America for ever. Of those who remain, very few accomplish anything in the way of productive labor themselves, not to speak of educating their neighbors. If they have made their small fortune in America they are content to spend it in the way that will entail the least exertion. If not, they can always find some one among their relatives who is glad to support the eminent traveler from America. Stop at random one of the young fellows who call out to you as you go by, "Hullo, boy! Whu yu go'n, Cholly?" and ask him what he is doing now, and the chances are that his reply will be: "Oh, nothing now. I was in America four years, but my health was not very good there, and so I came home, and just at present I am not doing anything." The Greeks in America are on the whole an industrious lot, but when they go back they seem all too often to be even more indolent, vain and impertinent than they were before they left. They seem to catch the spirit of whichever country they are in.

We do not wish to be too harsh in this condemnation. There is a reverse side to the shield, but it must be con-

fessed that it appears to be a very small one. A shining example of the admirable application of American advantages is furnished by the little village of Tsipa down on the Laconian coast. Its brief history is as follows:

One of the most picturesque figures in modern Athens is that of old Dr. Kalopothakes, a Protestant missionary and pastor, of long and noble service. When his son reached college age, he was sent to America and entered Harvard College, from which he graduated with a fine record. He returned to Greece, and a few years ago went down into Laconia, his father's native home, and in a sheltered little bay near Limeni erected an up-to-date olive press. He installed a fine steam plant, built a comfortable and well-appointed house for his own use and altogether put up a very complete and efficient establishment for the production of olive oil. When he went there his house was the only one there. Now there is a very flourishing little village. The peasants have learned the advantage of having him press their olives for them, and the enterprise is of benefit and profit both to him and them. Mr. Kalopothakes has taught the peasants the value of Sunday observance and honest dealing, as well as of up-to-date business methods. All up and down the coast his name is spoken with respect.

If such an example as this were only followed more universally, the whole aspect of Greek emigration would be different.

CHAPTER XII

Effects on the United States

THE discussion of the effects of Greek immigration upon the United States must of necessity be merely a forecast, and a rather unsatisfactory one at that. The annual Greek immigration as yet bears such a small proportion to the great current of the total immigration, and the total Greek population of the United States is such an infinitesimal part of the whole, that it is not to be expected that these people should have made a very definite impress on the life of our great nation. More than this, the movement from Greece to the United States is of altogether too recent origin for its ultimate effects even to have begun to be apparent. One of the commonest errors of writers on sociological topics is to allow too little time for the action of social forces. We are inclined to think that the effects of a certain social phenomenon, which we are able to detect in our lifetime, are the permanent and final effects. We forget that these matters may require many generations to work themselves out.

No better illustration of this could be asked for than that furnished by the case of the negroes in the United States. The importation of these people began many generations ago. To our ancestors it undoubtedly seemed a perfectly natural thing to do, and for centuries it did not occur to anybody to even question its rightfulness or its expediency. When objections began to be raised they were feeble and easily put aside. But at last, the presence of this peculiar class of people in the country

involved the nation in a terrible and bloody conflict, which worked irreparable injury to the American stock by the annihilation of the flower of southern manhood, and left us a problem which is probably the greatest one before the American people today—one which we have hardly begun to solve. There is much of similarity between the case of the negroes and that of the modern immigrants. To be sure, the newcomers of today are for the most part white-skinned instead of colored, which gives a different aspect to the matter. Yet in the mind of the average American, the modern immigrants are generally regarded as inferior peoples—races which he looks down on, and with which he does not wish to associate on terms of social equality. Like the negroes, they are brought in for economic reasons, to do the hard and menial work to which an American does not care to stoop. The business of the alien is to go into the mines, the foundries, the sewers, the stifling air of factories and work shops, out on the roads and railroads in the burning sun of summer, or the driving sleet and snow. If he proves himself a man, and rises above his station, and acquires wealth, and cleans himself up—very well, we receive him after a generation or two. But at present he is far beneath us, and the burden of proof rests with him.

The parallel need not be carried further. But is it too much to say, that the problem of the immigrant is as yet in the very embryo, and it may well be a hundred years before the nation begins to pay the penalty for the mistakes that we are making today, in the regulation and treatment of our alien population?

In its broadest aspect the discussion of the effects of Greek immigration upon this country would be but a part

of the consideration of the general effects of all immigration. It is far beyond the scope of this work to even touch the border of this tremendously important, perplexing and many-sided problem. As for the Greeks themselves, the most we can do is to review the considerations which have gone before, and seek to determine the probable outcome of the tendencies which we have discerned. For this purpose, the reader who has in mind the discussions included in the preceding pages, has practically the same data as the writer.

If the supposition so prevalent in Greece, that all the Greeks in the United States will return to their native land in the course of a few years, were true, our problem would be merely the discussion of the value to our nation of a temporary laboring force, imported for a few years from a foreign country, and returning thither again after their prime was past. This is a matter for individual judgment, though there would be many patent advantages about such a system. But as we have seen, we are not dealing today with such a class in the case of the Greeks. They are coming here to stay—to establish themselves in business, and make this their home.

In regard to their economic avocations, as we have seen, the prospects are that within a generation or less the Greeks will practically control the candy, ice cream, fruit and bootblacking businesses in the United States, and will have a strong hold on the restaurant business. To this, in itself, there will hardly be objections, so long as they carry the business on honestly and respectably, and render good service, as they seem to. But the padrone system and contract labor system, which are at present bound up with some of these industries, are a menace to some of our

most cherished ideals, and unless our Greek population can and will rid itself of this reproach, it would be better if every one of them, who has any connection with these practices, were driven from our shores.

As factory workers, it can hardly be said that the Greeks have as yet had any effect upon the country, except to add a rather troublesome element to the population of some of the cities in which they settle. In the railroad work, and in miscellaneous occupations, the Greeks are merely a handful among our great laboring class, doing their work with average ability and faithfulness.

As a factor in the charitable work of the country, the Greeks cut no figure. Practically every one of them has his own means of support, and they are no burden to the community. Whether this state of affairs will change as time goes on, time alone can tell, though the indications are that it will not to any great extent.

The criminal record of the Greeks is less favorable. While there are few major criminals among them, they are probably a greater tax on the police courts of the country, in proportion to their total number, than any other class of our population. But their record for the past decade gives us ground for hope that the years will bring an improvement in this direction. But it seems likely that the presence of this race in the country will add to, rather than diminish, the growing indifference to law as such, which is one of the most threatening signs of the times. This lack of reverence for law, and every form of authority, seems to be characteristic of the children of immigrants of every race. But the Greeks appear to have it when they come. What the character of their children will be in this respect we can only conjecture.

The sums of money sent home each year are relatively too insignificant to be of any importance to this country. Politically, the only effects the Greeks have had is to add a slight increment to the Republican party. In Omaha, not long ago, this party was accused of making use of the Greeks fraudulently to increase their voting list.* In the wider and higher social and intellectual life of the country, as we have seen, the Greeks as yet have taken little part.

Table 17 gives the figures for the international commerce between Greece and the United States for the decade 1898 to 1907. There is a considerable increase in the imports from Greece, particularly in the last two years. The exports to Greece show little change until the last year of the period when there is a very sudden rise. The increased immigration undoubtedly accounts largely for the increase in imports, as it creates a greater demand for Greek products. The rise in exports may be explained by the establishment of the Austro-American steamship line.

The great question which, in the case of the Greeks, as well as of every other class of our alien population, is of vital importance and interest to the country, is, Will they make good citizens? The answer to this depends primarily upon one's individual opinion of what is a good American citizen. Some writers go so far as to intimate that there is no such thing as a distinctive American citizen. A large proportion of our population seems to look upon the ideal American citizen as the man who tends strictly to business, makes money, lets other people severely alone and expects them to do the same. If we adopt this point of view, we can have little hesitation in saying that the

* Morning *World-Herald,* Omaha, October 29, 1908.

Greeks answer the requirements, for as we have seen, they are distinctly a money-making class in this country, and if some of the methods by which they do it will not bear investigation—that is nobody's business, according to the hypothesis.

But if we look at the matter more broadly, and think of the ideal American citizen as one who has the higher and better interests of himself, his neighbor and his country at heart, and who believes that he ought to contribute to the general betterment of his community during his lifetime, and give at least as much as he gets—from this point of view the answer to the question is much less certain. In this respect, the effect of the immigrant upon the country is the effect of the country upon the immigrant, viewed from a different angle. If the immigrant finds his change of residence an advantage, if he prospers morally and socially as well as financially, the chances are that he will give back to the country something in return for what he gets. But if the conditions in which he finds himself placed in his new home are such as to cause him to preserve, or even increase, any low ideals, vicious habits or degenerate propensities that he may have, he is, by so much, a hindrance to the country of his adoption.

As far as the Greeks are concerned, at least, it seems undeniable that the determination of the question, into which of these two categories the immigrant shall go, is largely a matter of distribution. It has been frequently remarked in the course of the preceding discussion, that the evil tendencies of Greek life in this country manifest themselves most fully when the immigrants are collected into compact, isolated, distinctively Greek colonies, and that when the Greek is separated from the group and

thrown into relations with Americans of the better class, he develops and displays many admirable qualities. Our system and machinery for regulating the admission of aliens is very complete and well-organized. But we do practically nothing for them, after they are once inside the border. We talk with smug complacency of the marvelous assimilative power of America. We are, in fact, by no means sure that these great hordes of foreign nationalities are in any true sense assimilated, even after many years of residence in this country. It is assuming altogether too much to think that mere residence within the confines of the United States will make true Americans out of uncultured aliens, when, as we have seen in the case of the Greeks, a large proportion of them do not even learn the English language. It is a great question whether the United States is in any sense ready or fit, in its attitude toward the immigrant, or in its facilities for giving him the advantages of American life, to undertake the tremendous responsibility of receiving the immense hordes of foreigners who are flocking to our shores each year.*

* A striking illustration of the truth of this statement occurred in the winter of 1908-09 in South Omaha, Nebraska. On Friday, February 19, a Greek in that city shot and killed a police officer who had arrested him for keeping company with a girl under suspicious circumstances. The following Sunday afternoon a mass meeting was held at the city hall, at which addresses were made by two of the members of the state legislature, and a former city attorney. The passions of the crowd became inflamed and they proceeded to the Greek quarter in a spirit of mad lawlessness, and "cleaned it out," burning buildings, smashing glass, and driving the denizens out of the city. No lives were lost but the total damage was estimated at not less than $25,000. An interesting sidelight on the event is thrown by the fact that many of those concerned in the riots, and probably the officer himself, were Irishmen.

PEASANT TYPES, MEGALOPOLIS

We have seen that many of the evils which attach to Greek life in this country are due to the fact that the population is almost wholly male. How long this will continue to be the case, there is no way of telling. It may be that within a few years Greek emigration will begin to have more of a family nature. In that case the future of the race in this country will be brighter. It will help to draw the Greeks away from the consolidated colonies, tend to throw them into closer relations with American families, and perhaps lead more of them to take up agricultural pursuits, which would be an undoubted improvement.*

There is much about Greek life, as seen in Greece, that is very attractive, in the way of hospitality, courtesy, music, love of outdoors, and the tempering of business activity with a certain amount of leisure and social intercourse. If the immigrant Greek could add some of these elements, even in a very small measure, to the life of America, his presence would be a benefit to the country. On the other hand, America has much to give the Greek, in respect of commercial honesty, unselfishness, truthfulness, harmony, stability, regard for women and children, and social virtue. But to accomplish these ends, the Greek and the American must know each other. Only as the conditions become such that the old inhabitants and the newcomer are thrown into close touch and personal relations with each other, can this mutual interchange of ideals and customs take place, and the fact of Greek immigration into the United States be made of advantage both to them and to us.

* Gortzis, America and Americans, pages 71 and 73.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

TABLE 1.

PRINCIPAL MANUFACTURES IN OPERATION IN THE LEADING CITIES OF GREECE. NUMBER OF ESTABLISHMENTS.*

1905.

Cities: Athens, Piræus, Patras, Volo, Syra, Corfu.

Steam flour mills	28
Cotton mills	13
Macaroni factories	44
Machine shops and foundries	39
Tanneries	91
Carriage factories	31
Soap factories	30
Steam currant-cleaning factories	14
Olive oil factories	11
Straw hat factories	43
Saddle and harness factories	36
Chair factories	50
Picture frame factories	28
Roofing and tile factories	34
Marble yards	76
Shoemakers' shops	564

* Reports of Consul-General George W. Horton, 1905.

TABLE 2.

CUSTOMS TARIFFS IN GREECE.*

Reckoned in Gold Drachmas.

1906.

Bicycles	20 each.
Boots and shoes	15 per oke.†
Coffee	180 per 100 okes.
Flour	17.50 per 100 okes.
Lumber (pine or fir, in boards 20 millimeters thick)	20 per cubic meter.
Rice (cleaned)	17 per 100 okes.
Saccharine	Prohibited.
Soap	150 per 100 okes.

* Reports of Consul-General George W. Horton, 1906.

† The oke is a little less than three pounds.

TABLE 3.

WAGES PER DAY IN GREECE.‡

1908.

Brick and stone layers	5-7 drachmas.
Laborers	3.50-4 drachmas.
Carpenters	6-7 drachmas.
Painters	4-7 drachmas.
Plumbers	6.50-7 drachmas.
Clothing (mostly piece work; girls finishing suits by hand)	.40-.50 drachmas.
Compositors	3.50-4 drachmas.
Farm laborers (male)	3-3.75 drachmas.
Farm laborers (female)	2 drachmas.
Machinists	8 drachmas.
Iron moulders	8 drachmas.

In some occupations wages vary with the season.

‡ Reports of Cousul-General George W. Horton, 1908.

APPENDIX

TABLE 4.

Prices in Greece.*

Bread (common)	$ .035	pound.
Bread (white)	.06	pound.
Butter (cooking)	.32	pound.
Butter (fresh)	1.30	pound.
Cheese (macaroni)	.26	pound.
Coffee	.23-26	pound.
Salmon (canned)	.54	pound.
Fish (fresh)	.15-38	pound.
Flour	.056	pound.
Apples (fresh)	.13	pound.
Oranges	.22	dozen.
Ham (boiled)	1.04	pound.
Lemons	.12	dozen.
Beef (sirloin)	.17	pound.
Beef (fillet)	.38	pound.
Lamb	.32	pound.
Lamb (yearling)	.19	pound.
Pork (fresh)	.15	pound.
Milk (fresh cow's)	.54	gallon.
Milk (goat's)	.43	gallon.
Oatmeal (Quaker Oats)	.50	pound.
Sugar	.10	pound.
Salt	.02	pound.
Tea (Ceylon)	1.30	pound.
Petroleum	.75	gallon.
Wood (fuel)	10.00	ton.
Coke	10.00	ton.
Charcoal	30.00	ton.

* Reports of Consul-General George W. Horton, 1906.

TABLE 5.

PRICES IN GREECE.*

1908.

Sugar	$ 0.12	pound.
Coffee	.476	pound.
Tea (medium quality)	.815	pound.
Flour	.047	pound.
Soap (washing)	.095	pound.
Corn meal	.068	pound.
Lamb	.204	pound.
Potatoes	.034	pound.
Salt	.027	pound.
Beans	.095	pound.
Bread	.04	pound.
Butter	1.37	pound.
Oil	.136	pound.
Coke	.004	pound.
Wood	.0047	pound.
Rice	.095	pound.
Kerosene (.3513 gallon)	.08	
Eggs	.63	dozen.
Shoes	2.11-6.72	
Ordinary woolen suit	28.80	
Cheap cotton suit	4.80	

* Reports of Consul-General George W. Horton, 1908.

APPENDIX

TABLE 6.*

IMMIGRANT GREEKS ARRIVING IN THE UNITED STATES, FISCAL YEARS ENDED JUNE 30.

Year	Male	Female	Total
1883	58	15	73
1884	34	3	37
1885	154	18	172
1886	95	9	104
1887	305	8	313
1888	768	14	782
1889	149	9	158
1890	464	60	524
1891	1,040	65	1,105
1892	604	56	660
1893	..	..	1,072
1894	..	..	1,356
1895	..	..	597
1896	..	..	2,175
1897	546	25	571
1898	..	..	2,339
1899	2,263	132	2,395
1900	3,655	118	3,773
1901	5,754	165	5,919
1902	7,854	261	8,115
1903	13,885	491	14,376
1904	12,106	519	12,625
1905	11,586	558	12,144
1906	22,266	861	23,127
1907	44,647	1,636	46,283
1908	26,972	1,836	28,808
1909	18,738	1,524	20,262

*Reports of the Commissioner-General of Immigration.

TABLE 7.*

DISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES BORN IN GREECE AMONG THE DIFFERENT STATES, ETC., 1900.

Alabama,	129	Montana,	20
Alaska,	36	Nebraska,	23
Arizona,	10	Nevada,	4
Arkansas,	6	New Hampshire,	44
California,	372	New Jersey,	115
Colorado,	37	New Mexico,	1
Connecticut,	121	New York,	1,573
Delaware,	12	North Carolina,	14
District of Columbia,	34	North Dakota,	——
Florida,	98	Ohio,	213
Georgia,	191	Oklahoma,	3
Hawaii,	55	Oregon,	95
Idaho,	9	Pennsylvania,	465
Illinois,	1,570	Rhode Island,	84
Indiana,	82	South Carolina,	62
Indian Territory,	2	South Dakota,	3
Iowa,	18	Tennessee,	38
Kansas,	17	Texas,	169
Kentucky,	24	Utah,	3
Louisiana,	84	Vermont,	3
Maine,	7	Virginia,	59
Maryland,	95	Washington,	65
Massachusetts,	1,843	West Virginia,	108
Michigan,	134	Wisconsin,	63
Minnesota,	75	Wyoming,	230
Mississippi,	22		——
Missouri,	66	Total,	8,655

* United States Census, Volume I., Table 33.

APPENDIX

TABLE 8.*

Distribution of the Greek Population of the United States in the Specified Number of Cities in the Various States in 1904.

State	No. of Cities	No. of Greeks
Alabama	3	457
Arkansas	2	78
Arizona	1	27
Connecticut	9	614
California	13	4,472
Colorado	5	778
Delaware	1	38
Florida	6	182
Georgia	6	773
Idaho	2	358
Illinois	13	8,313
Indiana	9	308
Indian Territory	1	20
Iowa	5	156
Kansas	5	224
Kentucky	3	58
Louisiana	1	250
Maine	4	119
Maryland	2	418
Massachusetts	30	8,667
Minnesota	3	241
Mississippi	3	131
Montana	1	72
Nebraska	1	19
Michigan	8	324
Nevada	1	12
New Hampshire	7	406
New Jersey	6	446
New York	25	8,344
North Carolina	1	28
North Dakota	1	10

*Thermopylæ Almanac, 1904, pages 395 seq.

State	No. of Cities	No. of Greeks
Ohio	21	795
Oregon	2	110
Pennsylvania	26	2,148
Rhode Island	5	253
South Carolina	7	157
South Dakota	1	14
Tennessee	2	406
Texas	6	344
Utah	3	573
Vermont	2	29
Virginia	4	155
Washington	3	224
West Virginia	1	58
Wisconsin	6	821
Wyoming	1	40
District of Columbia	1	289
Alaska Territory	2	38
Total,		43,607
Workers on railroads and in factories,		24,000
Grand total,		67,607

APPENDIX

TABLE 9.*

SEX, AGE AND ILLITERACY OF GREEKS ADMITTED, FISCAL YEARS ENDED JUNE 30.

Year	Sex			Age		
	Male	Female	Total	0-14 years	14-45 years	45 and over
1900	3,655	118	3,773	388	3,296	89
1901	5,754	165	5,919	506	5,238	175
1902	7,854	261	8,115	687	7,227	201
1903	13,885	491	14,376	1,185	12,951	240
1904	12,106	519	12,625	605	11,883	137
1905	11,586	558	12,144	446	11,523	175
1906	22,266	861	23,127	718	22,174	235
1907	44,647	1,636	46,283	819	45,169	295
1908	26,972	1,836	28,808	868	27,617	323

ILLITERACY OF THOSE 14 YEARS OLD AND OVER.

	Read but not write	Neither read nor write	Percentages	
			Per cent Illiterate	Per cent Males
1900	2	578	15.3	96.6
1901	3	1,398	23.6	97.2
1902	5	2,224	27.4	96.8
1903	5	3,653	25.4	95.9
1904	16	2,821	22.4	95.4
1905	10	2,665	21.9	96.3
1906	12	5,256	22.7	96.4
1907	19	13,883	30.0	93.6
1908	3	7,951	27.6	93.7

*Reports Commissioner-General of Immigration.

GREEK IMMIGRATION

TABLE 10.*

A.

MONEY SHOWN BY GREEKS ADMITTED TO THE UNITED STATES, FISCAL YEARS ENDED JUNE 30.†

Year	Total	Money Shown‡ — $30.00 or Over	Money Shown‡ — Less than $30.00	Total Money Shown	Average Money per Capita
1900	3,773	346	2,971	$108,592	$28.78
1901	5,919	509	4,925	92,145	15.57
1902	8,115	849	6,520	141,581	17.45
1903	14,376	1,814	10,860	269,912	18.77
1904	12,625	1,000	10,911	349,875	27.71
1905	12,144	1,152	10,310	331,871	27.33
1906	23,127	1,571	20,013	545,611	23.59
1907	46,283	2,365	38,945	967,972	20.91
1908	28,808	1,688	24,476	577,879	20.06

B.

GREEKS ADMITTED INTO THE UNITED STATES WHO HAVE BEEN HERE BEFORE—FISCAL YEARS ENDED JUNE 30.

1900	335
1901	306
1902	290
1903	451
1904	593
1905	1,021
1906	1,303
1907	1,041
1908	1,021

*Reports of the Commissioner-General of Immigration.

†These figures are not exact, as the total of the two classes given in the table does not coincide with the total immigration.

‡Beginning with 1904 the classification is on the basis of those who show $50 more or less, instead of $30.

APPENDIX

TABLE 11.*

GREEKS DEBARRED, DEPORTED AND RELIEVED IN HOSPITAL, FISCAL YEARS ENDED JUNE 30.

Debarred	1900	1901	1902	1903	1904	1905	1906	1907	1908
Feeble minded	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
Insane persons	..	..	..	..	..	..	4	1	1
Paupers, or likely to become public charges	63	70	67	474	429	193	365	393	217
Loathsome or dangerous contagious diseases	9	10	12	29	45	100	31	107	115
Convicts	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	5	..
Surgeon's certificate of defect	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	57
Under sixteen years unaccompanied	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	11
Assisted aliens	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Criminals	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
Accompanying aliens	..	..	..	..	..	..	24	15	7
Contract laborers	4	2	1	111	53	60	432	63	44
Total debarred	76	82	80	614	527	353	857	584	459
Returned after 1, 2 or 3 years	2	2	2	2	21	10	10	21	67
Relieved in hospital	41	31	51	121	100	70	189	357	..
Per cent debarred	2.0	1.3	1.0	4.3	4.2	2.9	3.7	1.3	1.6
General per cent of total immigration debarred	0.95	0.72	0.75	1.02	0.98	1.15	1.12	1.02	1.39

* Reports of the Commissioner-General of Immigration.

TABLE 12.*

OCCUPATIONS OF GREEKS ADMITTED, FISCAL YEARS ENDED JUNE 30.

Year	Profes-sional	Skilled	—Miscellaneous— Farm Laborers	Laborers	Total	Per cent Unskilled†
1900	14	595	1,100	1,165	2,478	66
1901	17	787	2,579	1,502	4,370	74
1902	16	922	3,818	1,641	5,913	73
1903	44	1,662	3,680	6,048	10,583	73
1904	89	1,808	3,225	5,357	9,697	77
1905	72	1,524	2,639	5,818	9,679	79
1906	98	2,021	4,615	12,975	19,496	84
1907	87	2,165	6,924	33,444	42,086	91
1908	92	1,082	2,876	21,004	25,107	87

*Reports of the Commissioner-General of Immigration.
†Approximate.

TABLE 13.*

GREEK POPULATION OF SOME OF THE LEADING CITIES OF THE UNITED STATES.

1908.

(Approximate.)

Albany, N. Y.,	400	Brockton, Mass.,	100
Allegheny, Pa.,	100	Bridgeport, Conn.,	400
Altoona, Pa.,	80	Buffalo, N. Y.,	400
Atlanta, Ga.,	500	Butler, Pa.,	150
Augusta, Ga.,	80	Canton, Ohio,	100
Aurora, Ill.,	200	Central Falls, R. I.,	150
Baltimore, Md.,	400	Charlotte, N. C.,	100
Berkeley, Calif.,	100	Cheyenne, Wyo.,	300
Biddeford, Me.,	450	Chicago, Ill.,	15,000
Birmingham, Ala.,	500	Chicopee, Mass.,	100
Boise, Idaho,	300	Cincinnati, Ohio,	500
Boston, Mass.,	1,500	Clinton, Mass.,	150

*Greek-American Guide, 1909, pages 359, 361.

Cleveland, Ohio,	250	Lynn, Mass.,	1,500
Colorado Springs, Colo.,	150	Madison, Ill.,	120
Columbus, Ohio,	150	McKeesport, Pa.,	200
Concord, N. H.,	150	Manchester, N. H.,	3,000
Cripple Creek, Colo.,	100	Marlboro, Mass.,	100
Danbury, Conn.,	100	Marysville, Calif.,	100
Dayton, Ohio,	150	Memphis, Tenn.,	200
Denver, Colo.,	600	Milwaukee, Wis.,	600
Des Moines, Ia.,	150	Minneapolis, Minn.,	300
Detroit, Mich.,	400	Mobile, Ala.,	350
Dover, N. H.	150	Moline, Ill.,	250
Duluth, Minn.,	100	Montgomery, Ala.,	150
Ely, Nev.,	400	Nashville, Tenn.,	200
Elsey, Ala.,	300	Nashua, N. H.,	1,500
Eureka, Nev.,	120	Newark, N. J.,	500
Fall River, Mass.,	350	New Bedford, Mass.,	450
Fitchburg, Mass.,	200	Newcastle, Pa.,	140
Fond du Lac, Wis.,	130	New Haven, Conn.,	300
Fort Wayne, Ind.,	150	New Orleans, La.,	300
Fresno, Calif.,	150	Newport News, Va.,	200
Galveston, Tex.,	300	Newport, R. I.,	250
Garsten, Ala.,	150	N. Y. City (Greater),	20,000
Grand Rapids, Mich.,	150	Norwich, Conn.,	200
Garfield, Utah,	400	Oakland, Calif.,	450
Harrisburg, Pa.,	100	Ogden, Utah,	400
Hartford, Conn.,	150	Omaha, Neb.,	1,500
Haverhill, Mass.,	700	Orange, N. J.,	400
Holyoke, Mass.,	150	Oroville, Calif.,	80
Indianapolis, Ind.,	400	Oneida, Idaho,	200
Jacksonville, Fla.,	150	Pawtucket, R. I.,	250
Kansas City, Kan.,	100	Peabody, Mass.,	300
Kansas City, Mo.,	450	Pensacola, Fla.,	250
Kirmara, Idaho,	150	Philadelphia, Pa.,	1,800
Lancaster, Pa.,	100	Pittsburg, Pa.,	3,500
LaCrosse, Wis.,	100	Pocatello, Idaho,	300
Laramie, Wyo.,	250	Portland, Ore.,	1,500
Lawrence, Mass.,	200	Poughkeepsie, N. Y.,	200
Lewiston, Me.,	200	Providence, R. I.,	500
Lincoln, Neb.,	100	Pueblo, Colo.,	900
Los Angeles, Calif.,	600	Reading, Pa.,	350
Lowell, Mass.,	7,000	Reno, Nev.,	150

Roanoke, Va.,	100	Stamford, Conn.,	300
Rochester, N. Y.,	250	Stockton, Calif.,	100
Rock Island, Ill.,	350	Syracuse, N. Y.,	275
Sacramento, Calif.,	250	Tampa, Fla.,	120
St. Louis, Mo.,	2,000	Thompsonville, Conn.,	175
St. Paul, Minn.,	200	Taunton, Mass.,	150
Salem, Mass.,	150	Terre Haute, Ind.,	150
Salida, Colo.,	80	Tarpon Springs, Fla.,	1,000
Salt Lake City, Utah,	2,000	Topeka, Kan.,	150
Santa Barbara, Calif.,	80	Troy, N. Y.,	100
San Francisco, Calif.,	3,000	Utica, N. Y.,	100
Sault Ste. Marie, Mich.,	250	Washington, D. C.,	400
Savannah, Ga.,	500	Wheeling, W. Va.,	200
Schenectady, N. Y.,	250	Wilkesbarre, Pa.,	160
Seattle, Wash.,	500	Wilmington, Del.,	200
Sheboygan, Wis.,	450	Woburn, Mass.,	250
Sioux Falls, S. C.,	100	Worcester, Mass.,	450
Somersworth, N. H.,	200	Youngstown, Ohio,	100
South Omaha, Neb.,	400	York, Pa.,	100
Springfield, Mass.,	300		

TABLE 14.*

DESTINATION OF GREEKS ADMITTED TO THE UNITED STATES, FISCAL YEARS ENDED JUNE 30.

State	1900	1901	1902	1903	1904	1905	1906	1907	1908
California,	16	36	59	155	142	115	328	1,608	726
Illinois,	1,000	2,136	2,663	4,318	2,879	1,504	2,817	5,070	2,514
M'sachusetts,	865	943	1,173	2,538	2,119	2,108	3,879	7,293	4,116
New Hamp.,	4	11	42	284	298	585	1,274	2,377	915
New York,	1,429	2,127	2,935	4,182	3,579	3,154	6,150	14,372	10,927
Pennsylvania,	105	141	436	1,092	906	692	1,520	2,681	1,788
Wisconsin,	3	9	67	177	294	242	664	1,306	694
Missouri,	..	..	..	67	774	1,671	2,326	3,121	1,856
New Jersey,	..	..	..	..	..	169	326	1,100	430

*Reports of the Commissioner-General of Immigration.

APPENDIX

TABLE 15.

Distribution of Greek Industries Among the Cities of the United States.

[From the Thermopylæ Almanac, 1904.]

Number of cities in the different states having at least one store of the type specified:

	Candy Stores	Fruit Stores
Alabama,	2	1
Arkansas,	1	1
California,	4	3
Colorado,	1	.
Connecticut,	4	.
Delaware,	1	.
District of Columbia,	1	.
Florida,	2	.
Georgia,	4	3
Illinois,	3	1
Indiana,	8	.
Iowa,	4	.
Louisiana,	1	.
Kansas,	2	.
Massachusetts,	8	3
Maryland,	3	1
Michigan,	6	2
Minnesota,	2	.
Mississippi,	1	.
New Hampshire,	2	.
New Jersey,	7	1
New York,	37	4
North Carolina,	1	1
Ohio,	13	1
Oklahoma,	1	.
Pennsylvania,	24	2
Rhode Island,	2	.
South Carolina,	3	2
Tennessee,	3	1
Texas,	6	2
Vermont,	1	.
West Virginia,	2	.
Wisconsin,	3	.

TABLE 16.

CLASSIFICATION OF ADVERTISEMENTS IN TWO COPIES OF THE "ATLANTIS," OF AVERAGE CHARACTER.

(Issue of November 25, 1908.)

Total advertising space (not want ads.)		725 square inches
Steamship lines	179 sq. in.	
Confectioners, confectioners' supplies and furniture	114 sq. in.	
Doctors, medical institutes, etc.	69 sq. in.	
General	26	
Private diseases	43	
Shoe polish	45 sq. in.	
Importers	45 sq. in.	
Tobacco and tobacco stores	34 sq. in.	
Banks	33 sq. in.	
Jewelry	31 sq. in.	
General stores (groceries)	30 sq. in.	
Dentists	17 sq. in.	
Miscellaneous	128 sq. in.	
Total,		725 square inches

(Issue of November 11, 1908.)

Total advertising space (not want ads.)		612 square inches
Steamship lines	166 sq. in.	
Confectioners, confectioners' supplies and furniture	100 sq. in.	
Doctors, medical institutes, etc.	80 sq. in.	
General	30	
Private diseases	50	
Shoe polish	50 sq. in.	
Miscellaneous	216 sq. in.	
Total,		612 square inches

Note.—The figures in this table do not include book advertisements inserted by the Atlantis Company, of which there are a large number.

APPENDIX

TABLE 17.*

INTERNATIONAL COMMERCE BETWEEN GREECE AND THE UNITED STATES.

Year	Imports from Greece into the United States	Exports from the United States to Greece
1898	$ 910,390	$ 127,559
1899	944,521	213,507
1900	1,122,855	290,709
1901	1,124,775	291,538
1902	1,563,142	305,950
1903	1,326,935	330,844
1904	1,588,946	242,229
1905	1,270,792	181,970
1906	2,032,408	239,726
1907	3,086,417	1,634,431

*Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1907, page 292.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Books.

Baedeker, Karl . . . . Greece.
Bailey, William B. . . . Modern Social Conditions.
Booras, John . . . . . Thermopylæ Almanac, 1904 (Greek).
Bushee . . . . . Ethnic Factors in the Population of Boston.
Brandenburg, B. . . . . Imported Americans.
Canoutas, S. G. . . . . Greek-American Guide, 1909 (Greek).
Commissioner-General of Immigration . . . . Annual Reports.
Commons, John R. . . . Races and Immigrants in America.
Cox, G. W. . . . . General History of Greece.
Edgar, W. C. . . . . The Story of a Grain of Wheat.
Gortzis, N. . . . . America and Americans (Greek).
Hall, P. F. . . . . Immigration.
Hull House . . . . . Maps and Papers.
Keller, A. G. . . . . Colonization.
Kenngott, George F. . . . Housing Conditions in Lowell (Unpublished).
Lascarato, Andrew . . . The Mysteries of Cephalonia (Greek).
Malthus, Thomas R. . . . Essay on Population.
Perdicaris, G. A. . . . . Greece of the Greeks.
Ripley, William Z. . . . The Races of Europe.
Smith, Adam . . . . . Wealth of Nations.
Steiner, E. A. . . . . On the Trail of the Immigrant.
United States . . . . . Census Publications.

Magazine Articles.

Anthropological Review . . 4: xcix., Quotation from Hyde Clarke, Anthropological Investigations in Smyrna.
6: 154, J. B. D., Greek Anthropology, Review of Nicolucci.

Bent, J. Theodore	In a Greek Family To-day, Littell's Living Age, 162:110.
	Greek Peasant Life, Littell's Living Age, 170:630.
Blackie, John Stuart . . .	Christian Greece, Blackwood's, 153:126.
	Modern Greece, Forum, 23:113.
Blackwood's Magazine . .	43:469, 620, Modern Greece.
	67:526, Modern Greece.
	76:403, King Otho and His Classic Kingdom.
	79:304, Greek Church.
Chautauquan	14:573, Modern Greece and the Balkan States.
d'Estournelles, P.	Superstitions of Modern Greece, Century, 11:586.
Eastman, G.	The Greco-Turkish War, Chautauquan, 25:348.
Elliott, W. A.	The Modern Greek, Chautauquan, 43:144.
Fairchild, H. P.	Distribution of Immigrants, Yale Review, November, 1907.
Felton, Eunice W.	Industries of Modern Greece, Lippincott's, 34:388.
Galloway, M. A. A. . . .	Free Greece, Nineteenth Century, 23:893.
Gladstone, W. E.	Greece and the Treaty of Berlin, Nineteenth Century, 5:1121.
Hanbury, R. W.	The Spoilt Child of Europe, Nineteenth Century, 6:928.
Harris, Walter B.	The Conduct and Present Condition of Greece, Blackwood's, 162:268.
Koeppen, A. L.	Sketches of a Traveler from Greece, Mercersburg Review, 9:402.
Lascaris	The Threatened Depopulation of Greece, Chambers' Journal, 83:40.
Lawrence, Eugene	The Greek Church, Harper's Monthly, 45:405.
Lawton, W. C.	Greek Language, Ancient and Modern, Atlantic, 56:399.

Lloyd, Charles E. . . . . Modern Greece, Cosmopolitan, 22: 587.

Lynch, Hannah . . . . Greece of To-day, Westminster Review, 139: 155.

Mahaffy, J. P. . . . . Monasteries and Religion in Greece, Chautauquan, 9: 1.

The Present Condition and Prospects of Greece, Chautauquan, 9: 383.

Manatt, J. Irving . . . . The Living Greek, Review of Reviews (American), 11: 398.

New York Quarterly . . . 4: 259, Greece, Past, Present and Future.

Norman, Henry . . . . The Wreck of Greece, Scribner's, 22: 399.

Penny Magazine . . . . 2: 239,247, Emigration to Greece.

Ripley, William Z. . . . . Races in the United States, Atlantic, December, 1908.

Saturday Review . . . . 58: 723, Finance in Greece.

84: 333,456, Greece and Its People.

Seymour, T. D. . . . . Life and Travel in Modern Greece, Scribner's, 4: 46.

Life in Modern Greece, New Englander, 46: 359.

Speare, Charles F. . . . . What America Pays Europe for Immigrant Labor, North American Review, January, 1908.

Westminster Review . . . 20: 74, Modern Greece.

62: 345, Character, Condition and Prospects of the Greek People.

67: 228, Review of "The Mysteries of Cephalonia," Lascarato.

79: 183, Modern Greece and the Greeks.

Wheeler, Benjamin Ide . . The Modern Greek as a Fighting Man, North American Review, 164: 609.

The Royal Family of Greece, Century, 32: 139.

Willcox, Walter F. . . . The Distribution of Immigrants in the United States, Quarterly Journal of Economics, August, 1906.

Williams, Charles . . . . The Thessalian War of 1897, Fortnightly Review, 67: 959.

INDEX

INDEX

Age of immigrants 113, 184
Agents 79, 88, 91
Agriculture 7, 61, 67, 81, 225
Albanian influence 15, 18
Ambassador to the United States 121
Ancient language 50, 56
Anthropology 19
Assimilation 177, 206, 218, 240
Athens 18, 21, 33, 36, 39, 49, 63, 64, 70, 174, 175, 223
Athletics 36, 124, 125, 209
Atlantis 153, 223

Berths on shipboard 101
Birth certificates 184
Bootblacks in Greece 173
Bootblack shops 92, 127, 151, 160, 171
Boston 167, 169, 186, 201
Bulgaria 74

Calamata 63, 67
Candy 169
Candy stores 92, 127, 159, 165
Chain letter 87, 119
Character, national 9, 12
Chicago 118, 122
Child labor (See also padrone system) 131, 145, 151, 184
Cities in Greece 61, 223
Coffee-houses 29, 36, 123, 135, 149, 206, 209
Colonies, ancient 9
Colonies in the United States 120
Commercialism 24
Commerce 240
Committee, Greek, on emigration 227
Consul, American 100
Contract labor 89, 163, 177, 186
Corinth Canal 65
Courtesy 23

INDEX

Crete 31
Criminality in Chicago 128, 226
Criminality in Lowell 142
Criminality in New York 156
Criminality in the United States 200, 239
Crisis of 1907 ..... 84, 109, 112, 192, 220
Cruelty to animals 27
Currants 61, 64, 65, 76, 81

Dancing 23, 49, 102
Debarred immigrants 116
Dependence in Chicago 132
Dependence in Lincoln 164
Dependence in Lowell 144
Dependence in New York 151
Dependence in the United States 193, 239
Depopulation 232
Deported immigrants 116
Dishonesty 24, 65, 69, 147, 207
Disinfection 95
Distribution 117, 218, 241
Diversity of character 14
Dowry 39, 93
Drinking 37, 48, 139, 205

Early emigration 8
Easter 49
Economic conditions in Greece 60
Education in Greece 40, 176
Education in the United States 142, 146, 158, 172
Eikons 45
Ellis Island 105, 184
Embarkation 99
English language 145, 218
Environmental influence 6, 9
Exchange, fall in 71, 222
Exploitation 140, 146, 187
Exports 61, 64, 221
Extent of Greek world 4, 11

Factionalism 10, 65, 69, 139, 153, 155, 207
Factory laborers 188

INDEX

Family life 125, 138, 148, 198, 218
Farmers 190
Fasts 44, 73
Female labor 92, 225
Festivals 48
Fishers 189
Flower selling 127, 151, 167
Food, in Greece 62, 73
Food, on shipboard 99, 102
Food, in the United States 164, 180
France 39, 76
Fruit stores 127, 165

Gambling 28, 95, 143, 205
Germans 197
Grammar 55
Godfather 178

Habitation-districts 6, 60
Health 133, 145, 180, 199, 207, 216
History 15, 31
Holidays 47, 68, 162, 179
Hospital on shipboard 104
Hotels and restaurants 127, 151, 152, 171
Hull House 122, 152
Humor 37

Ice cream parlors 127
Illiteracy of immigrants 114
Imports 68, 221
Induced emigration 88, 91
Industry 62, 67, 72, 222
Inspection, in Greece 95, 97
Inspection, in America 105
Interest 71, 222
Intermarriage 126, 138, 148, 198
Irish 143, 197, 242
Italians 122, 123, 125, 149, 151, 157, 159, 163, 166, 172, 173, 200, 202

Jews 157, 196
Juvenile delinquency 131, 158, 204

INDEX

Kings 16

Laconia 133, 235
Laws on immigration, of the United States 89
Laws on immigration, proposed Greek 227
Laws on immigration, violations of 183, 188
Lincoln 159
Living conditions 125, 135, 148, 163, 164, 179, 198, 215
Lowell 122, 133

Macedonia 121, 134, 146
Malthusian theory 7
Marriage 39, 93
Megalopolis 174, 175, 232
Military service 59, 70, 227
Mineral resources 67
Miners 190
Monasteries 48
Money 69, 70, 71, 85, 217
Money, amount shown 115
Money sent "home" 72, 78, 92, 161, 181, 191, 220, 221, 240
Music 22

Naturalization 209, 210
Negro slaves 236
New Haven 170, 201
Newspapers, in Greece 21, 52, 64
Newspapers, in Chicago 128
Newspapers, in New York 153
Newspapers, in the United States 209
New York 122, 147

Occupations, in Greece 7, 60, 64
Occupations of immigrants 117
Occupations in Chicago 124, 127
Occupations in Lowell 135, 138
Occupations in New York 150
Occupations in the United States 165, 189, 238
Orthodox church 42, 45, 59
Orthodox church in Chicago 126
Orthodox church in Lowell 141

INDEX

Orthodox church in New York 155
Orthodox church in the United States 208
Orthodox community 120
Orthodox community of Chicago 126, 132
Orthodox community of Lowell 141
Orthodox community of New York 155

Padrone system 113, 127, 160, 172
Panhellenic 153
Panhellenic Union 121
Patras 39, 63, 65, 79, 80, 94, 174
Patriotism 35, 46, 164, 211
Peddlers 128, 168, 202
Peloponnesus 6, 174, 229
Phylloxera 76
Physical characteristics 19
Political conditions 59
Politics 34, 209, 210, 240
Population, of Greece.....60, 61, 224
Population, Greek, of the United States 110
Population, Greek, of Chicago 123
Population, Greek, of Lowell 133
Population, Greek, of New York 148
Postal service 63
Prices, in Greece 70, 81
Priests 47, 48, 49, 79, 123, 126, 208
Pronunciation 55
Prosperity 192, 212, 215, 218
Protestants 38, 56, 59, 209

Quality of immigrants 86

Racial stock 15, 17, 50
Railroads 6, 63
Railroad laborers 163, 186
Recreations 125, 152, 209
Rents 70
Restaurants (see hotels and restaurants).
Returning emigrants 110, 116, 217, 238
Roman Catholic Church 42
Roumania 74

INDEX

Sex of immigrants 112, 224
Sexual morality 38, 131, 206
Shipping 65, 72, 81
Smyrna 5, 9, 39
Social classes 60, 152
Socialism 209
Societies 126, 156
Sources of emigration 85
Sparta 63, 83, 84, 226
Steerage conditions 99

Taxation 67
Tenements 136, 149
Tips 181
Topography 5
Trachoma 98
Trade unions 209
Transportation 62
Transvaal, emigration to 70, 78
Tripolis 63, 83, 91, 174, 192, 228
Tsipiana 90, 231
Tuberculosis 145, 199
Turkey 5, 15, 32, 35, 39, 56, 78, 80, 88, 174, 210

Volume of immigration 109
Voyage 100

Wages in Greece 70, 226
Wages in the United States 139, 151, 164, 180
War of 1897 ..... 26, 31
War of Independence 16
Wealth in Greece 69
Wealth in the United States 151, 193
White slave trade 226

THIS BOOK MAY BE KEPT

Fourteen Days

and may be renewed once for the same time. The term expires on the date last stamped below. The fine for keeping it overtime is **Two Cents a Day,** Sundays and Holidays included

SPECIAL RESERVE

JAN 2 8 '59

JAN 6 '61

APR 8 1974

NOV 5 1987

NOV 19 1987

NOV 2 1988

OCT 05 1997

JV6824 .F3 c.1
Fairchild, Henry Pra 100106 000
Greek immigration to the Unite

3 9310 00070411 2
GOSHEN COLLEGE-GOOD LIBRARY

WITHDRAWN

~~325.95~~
~~F15~~

12278

GOSHEN COLLEGE
LIBRARY

Books, except those used for reference, may be kept **Fourteen Days** and may be renewed once.
Reference books can be kept over night only.
A Fine of Two cents will be charged for each **day** overtime.
Books lost or damaged must be paid for by the borrower.

JV
6824
F3